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Women of all nations

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WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

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A CHINESE LADY.

DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

A Record of Their Characteristics, Habits, Manners, Customs and Influence

Edited by

T. ATHOL JOYCE, M.A.

AND

N. W. THOMAS, M.A.

FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

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FIJIAN BASKETWORK:
One girl is making a mat, the other a fish-basket.

Photograph by J. W. Waters

WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS

INTRODUCTION

BANGALA WOMAN WITH BASKET.
Note the scars down the centre of the forehead.

SINCE man rose above the lowest grade of savagery, if not ever since the world began, woman has been the theme of poets, the model of artists and of sculptors, and the despair of the male sex generally. Biologists may tell us that the female is physically at a lower stage than her mate; misogynists and pessimists like Schopenhauer may assure us that she is mentally the inferior of the stronger sex; and, going to the opposite extreme, believers in woman's rights may sacrilegiously, if unwittingly, pull woman down from the pedestal on which she has been placed by modern, no less than by mediæval, chivalry. But the sound judgment of the average man will reject the paradoxes of the man of science, and by a simple process of natural selection eliminate from the character of future generations of the fair sex what is unpleasing in the advanced woman of the present day; he will not suffer woman to fall below the level of the woman that is or has been.

The Position of Women.

Taking a broad view of history, we may say that in one aspect it is the story of how woman has ceased to be the slave of man, as she is among the peoples on the lowest planes of culture, and has become his help-meet. To trace the course of this development here is impossible; but in the sequel the reader will

The Ascent of Woman.

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find in the description of woman, as she is at the present day among the peoples of the world, ample materials for a reconstruction of the story of the advance of woman from the lowest grade to the place she occupies among us to-day. But while this is true from one standpoint, we must not overlook the fact that the women who stand on a pedestal are only a fraction of the grown-up females of the world. Go to the victim of the sweater in the East End of London; go to the chain-makers of Cradley Heath, and the other white slaves of England, and the impression of woman's portion which is gained by the contemplation of the lot of the leisured classes and the cultured part of the population in general will be well-nigh effaced. If, at the present day, woman at her highest is far above anything which the uncivilised world can show, woman at her lowest is not so happy as her savage sister. If the latter suffers, she has her happy moments; but it is difficult to imagine how any human being can be happy whose whole life is one incessant struggle against starvation without a single gleam of light to relieve the gloom. And there are lower depths still to which woman may fall or be dragged; savagery untouched by the white man's influence rarely or never shows such pictures of disease and vice as prevail among the lowest stratum of our population. If, therefore, woman has risen, she has also fallen; and who shall say that the result on the whole is for better or for worse?

To give a connected survey of the points which the following pages will suggest would lead us far beyond the scope of this introduction, which can only glance at some of the salient features of woman's life. The pages which follow will contain many photographs from all parts of the world. They will, in many cases, be selected because they are typical of the people whom they represent; in other cases they may be as little typical of the mass as the photograph of the most beautiful woman in England would be of the average of her sisters who toil for their daily bread.

The Question of Beauty.

WOMAN OF THE GOULBURN TRIBE, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA.
Photographed from a plaster cast to show the different effect produced by an alteration in colour.

It is a curious and interesting problem how far the judgment of the European, as regards beauty in woman, falls into line with that of the people whose type of beauty is in question. For it by no means follows that our idea of beauty is universally accepted. Quite apart from differences of colour, the set of the eyes, the arrangement of the hair, the presence or absence of deformation by ornaments or simple scars, and a thousand other elements count for much in European and non-European eyes.

Colour.

European taste looks chiefly at beauty of form and feature, and, other things being equal, colour, be it black, brown or red, does not obscure the perception of it; but savage races, especially when they come in contact with European women for the first time, often complain that their sickly hue is not to their liking, and commiserate them; *das ewig Weibliche* apparently ceases to be attractive, if it is too far from the type to which man is accustomed. The Christy Minstrel of the streets shows us how far the European face is transfigured by the

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addition of colour, and the illustration on p. 2 shows what is the effect of the opposite process. Probably few people would recognise in the face shown the lineaments of an aboriginal Australian; and, though the abnormal smoothness of the hair, which is in real life left to grow as it pleases, contributes to the result, it is the change of tint which chiefly renders identification difficult. The illustration is from a plaster cast in the South Kensington Museum, which was moulded on the living face.

"A woman without ornament is like a field without water," runs the Eastern proverb, and, in spite of the fact that the Maoris of New Zealand urge that, "though a woman be ever so plain, men will still run after her," the female sex throughout the world is never averse to add to its personal charms by adventitious aids.

Feminine Adornments.

At the same time it must not be thought that among savages are to be found the choicest and most elaborate *toilettes*, at least as far as the ladies are concerned. Within certain limits it is true to say that the lower we descend in the scale of civilisation, the more nearly the human race is found to approximate to the brute creation, in the fact that it is the sterner sex which is the more brilliantly ornamented. Under the conditions of latter day civilisation, of course, the position is reversed, and the varieties of feminine adornment quite eclipse the sombre garb of mere man—the uniforms of the "Services," the coats of huntsmen and golfers, and the ties and waistcoats of undergraduates, forming rare exceptions. The most primitive form of ornament consists in the attempt to alter the form of the body in order that it may approximate to some ideal of beauty; and, as ideals vary from tribe to tribe, and from people to people, this attempt is made in diverse ways.

To take a few examples: in Persia, among some of the Turkish and Moorish peoples, and certain

Photograph by Dr. Th. Koch.

DESANA WOMAN.

Photograph by Dr. Th. Koch.

UANANA WOMAN.

Photograph by Dr. Th. Koch.

TARIANA WOMAN.

Women from the Rio Caiary, Uanpes, South America: Showing face and body painting, the most primitive form of ornamentation.

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Photograph by Spooner.

MAORI WOMAN, NEW ZEALAND.
Showing the peculiar form of tattoo on the chin found among this people.

African and South American tribes, the ideal of feminine beauty is found in excessive *embonpoint*, and the women in consequence suit their diet to the fashion. Among certain of the inhabitants of the North-West Coast of America, a retreating forehead is essential to true beauty, and the heads of infants are deformed by means of a special appliance fixed to the cradle, so that they may acquire the requisite slope from nose-tip to crown. In some localities in South America tight bandages are worn below the knee in order to produce a swollen calf, and many tribes in Africa employ artificial means to elongate the breasts. Polynesian mothers mould the noses of their children to prevent them from growing prominent; the Tahitians frequently said to the missionary Williams, "What a pity it is that English mothers pull the children's noses so much and make them so frightfully long!" In China the feet of the women are so compressed as to be practically useless, but, though this sacrifice to fashion must be exceedingly irksome, it is not in reality fraught with such serious consequences as the waist-compression practised by their "civilised" sisters in modern Europe. The fundamental object of such aids to beauty was naïvely admitted by a Chinese girl, on whom a lady missionary was trying to impress the folly of foot-bandaging: "Me squeezy foot; you squeezy waist; all same what for, get husband."

Ideals of Beauty Compared.

Painting the body as a form of ornament is another primitive aid to beauty, and is correspondingly widespread, especially in America, that is to say, savage America. Frequently in Africa and Australia it is a sign of mourning. The commonest colours are red, yellow, white and black obtained from various kinds of ochre, powdered wood, lime and charcoal. The familiar rice-powder is found in Java; in Tibet many devotees of fashion adorn their cheeks with a fascinating mosaic of starch and seeds, while the Chinese use the starch only. Further "aids to beauty" are the lac applied to the teeth of the women of the south-east of the Asiatic continent, and the henna employed by Oriental ladies to colour their nails and hair. The woad of our ancient Britannic ancestresses must not be forgotten, and it must be confessed that the cheeks, lips and hair of many of our European belles are not always innocent of "improvement": in fact, the "divinely fair" owes her complexion to the chemist as often as the "divinely tall" her stature to the boot-maker.

"Paint and Powder."

A more permanent form of coloration is found in the tattooing practised by many of the fairer races, among whom may be mentioned the Maori, whose women ornament the chin in this fashion; the Ainu, by whom a coquettish

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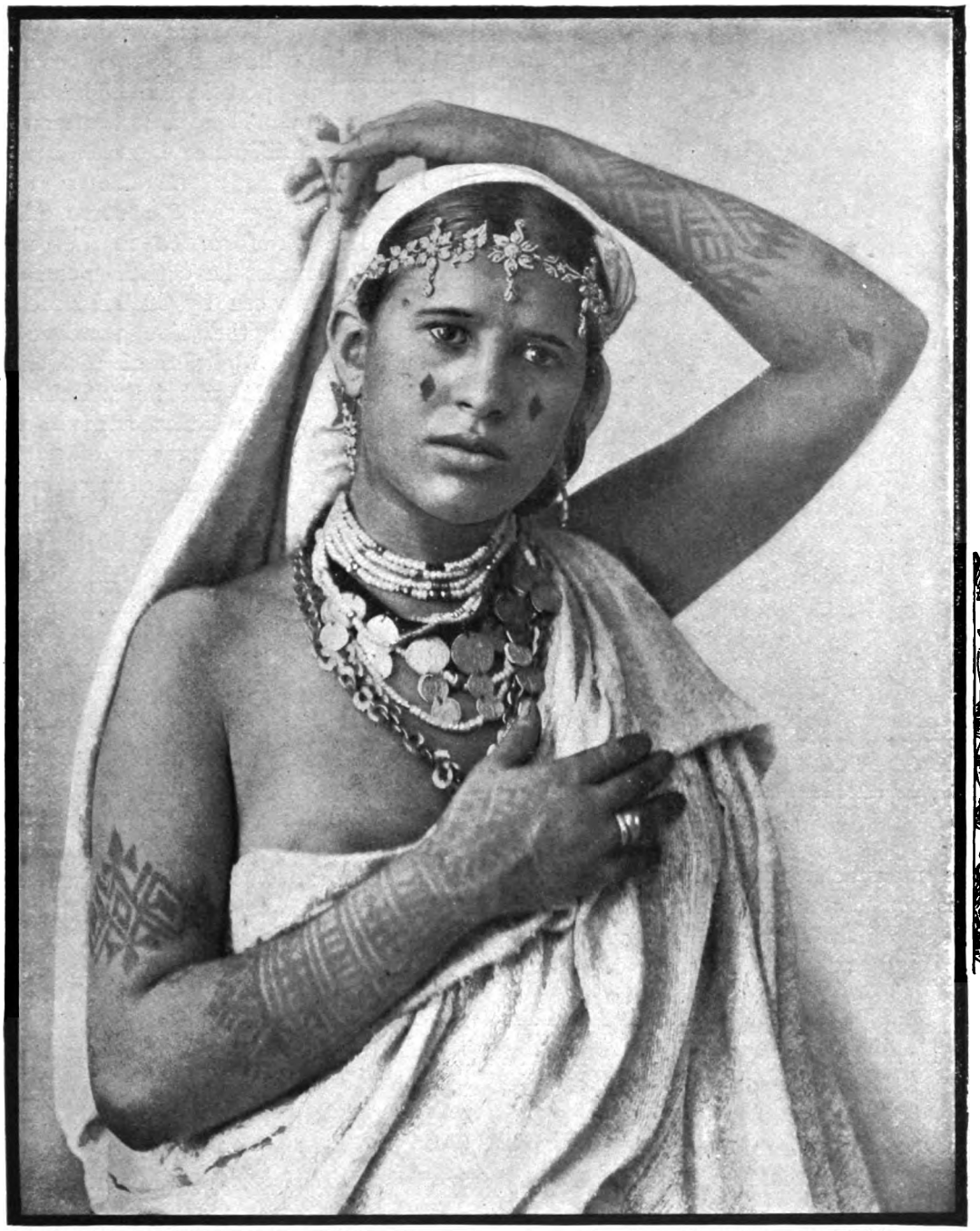

Photograph: Geiser, Algiers.

ALGERIAN WOMAN:
Tattooed by the method usual among comparatively fair-skinned people.

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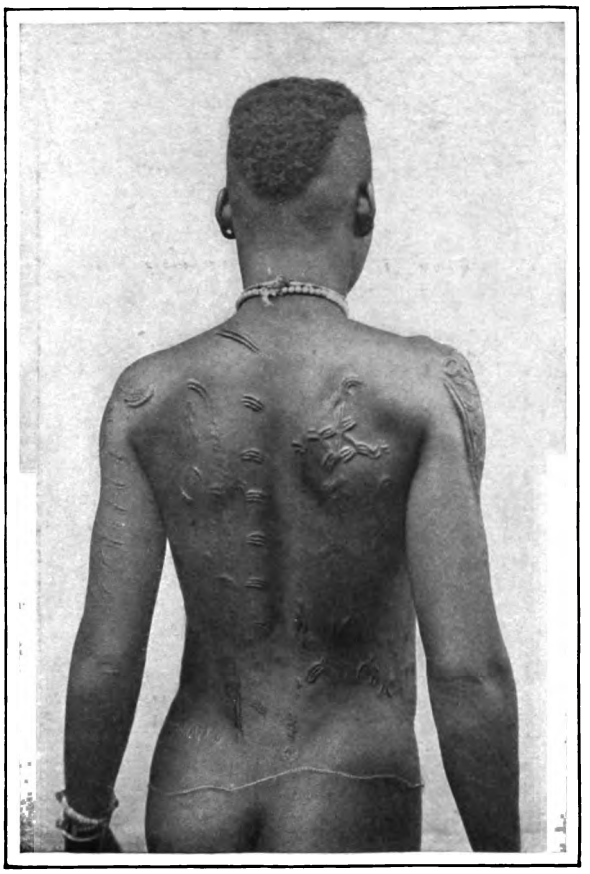

SANGO WOMAN, CONGO FREE STATE.
Showing the raised scars with which dark-skinned peoples often ornament their bodies.

little moustache tattooed on the upper lip is considered essential for women of fashion; the Algerians (*see* p. 5) and the Chukchi of North-east Siberia. Among the duskier peoples, in whose case this form of ornament would not be very apparent, incisions are made in the skin, the healing of which is retarded so that prominent scars result, which form intricate patterns on the parts of the body so ornamented. This custom is widespread in Africa, especially among the Congo tribes, as shown on this and the opposite page, and is also found among the Australians (*see* p. 8) and Melanesians. The filing or chipping of the teeth is a common form of "ornament" throughout Africa (*see* p. 9).

Fashions in Tattooing.

When we come to speak of the multitudinous objects worn on and around the body and limbs, their variety at first seems to baffle all description; but a short consideration elicits the fact that there are very few which have not their counterpart in the highest European circles. There is not, after all, a very great difference between a necklace of diamonds and one of teeth, each in its appropriate surroundings. The live birds carried in the ears of New Zealanders have their parallel in the fireflies worn by Central American beauties, and the live tortoises attached to the girdles of fashionable Parisiennes. It will be sufficient to say that savage belles enhance their charms by all the armoury of "jewellery" known to their European sisters. There are, however, a few forms of ornament which the latter have outgrown, and these are perhaps worthy of a few moments' consideration.

Objects of Adornment.

One of the little Pygmy ladies who lately visited London had her upper lip pierced in three places, and often wore small brass rings through the punctures. Exaggerated forms of this species of ornament are found among some tribes of British Central Africa, where the women wear large plugs of wood or ivory in the upper lip, distending the latter to an extent which, to European eyes, is hideous in the extreme (*see* p. 8). Similar large lip-plugs, but in this case worn in the lower lip, embellish the features of certain tribes in North-west and South America, while smaller ones are found among the Eskimo. The last named, as well as some South Americans, wear discs of this kind in the cheeks.

Lip and Nose Ornaments.

The nose, again, is frequently the support of an ornament of some sort. In New Guinea, Australia, and parts of Africa and the Malay States, slender bars of wood or bone are worn through a hole in the septum (*see* p. 10), while the nose-ring and nose-stud are common in India, and the former among the Tartars.

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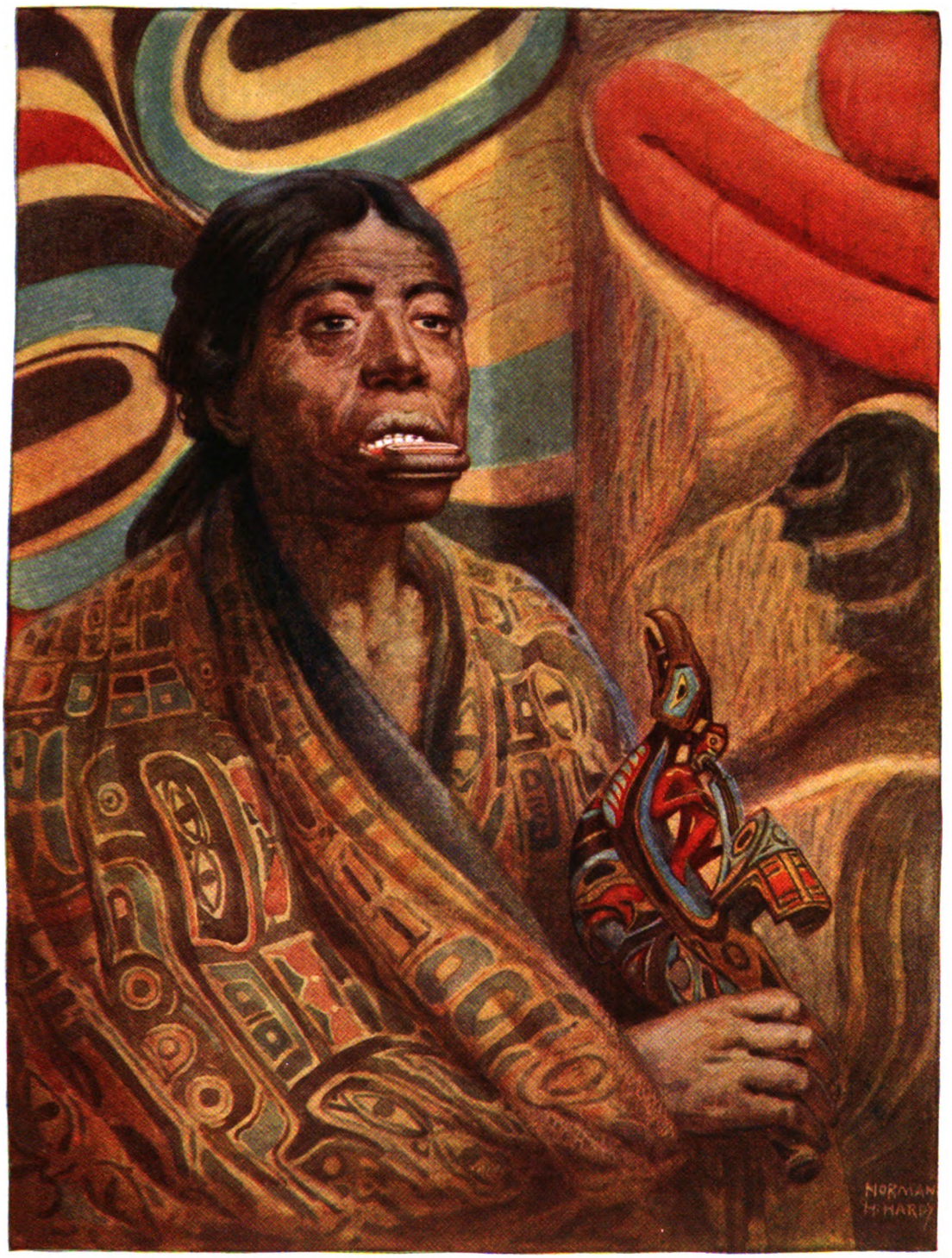

A HAIDA WOMAN OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLAND (NORTH-WEST AMERICA),
Shewing Lip-Plug.
DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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Collars.

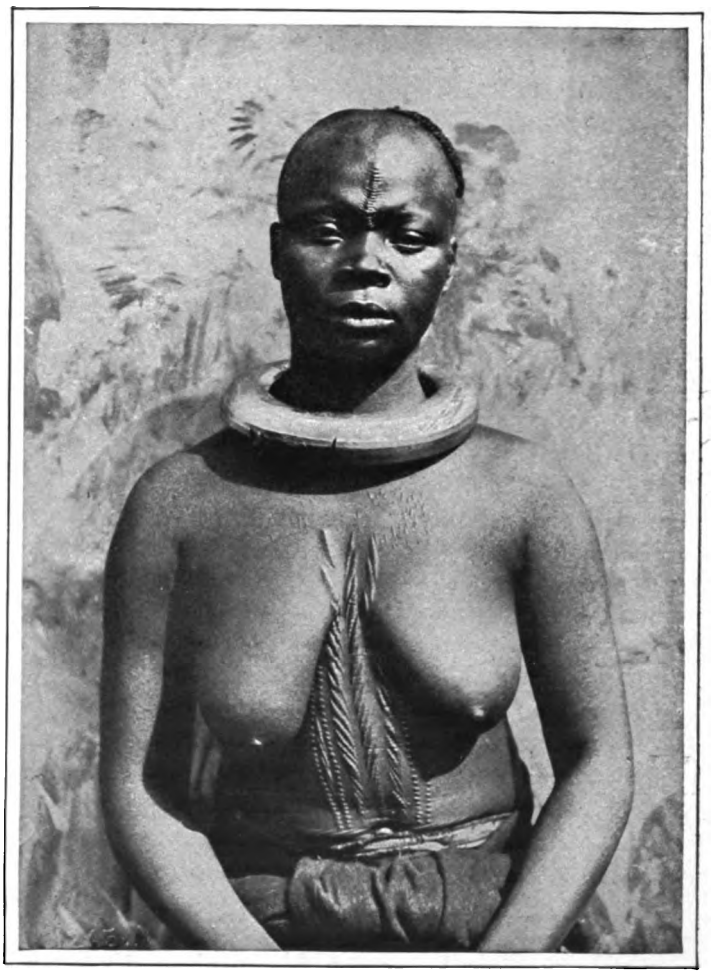
Heavy metal collars, such as is illustrated on this page, often weighing as much as thirty pounds or more, are frequently worn by belles of the Congo, while in East Africa thick iron wire is often coiled round arms and legs until the greater part of the limbs are covered (*see* p. 11); heavy coiled collars are also so worn. Nor are these latter confined to Africa. The women of a certain hill-tribe in Burma wear long neck ornaments of this nature, which tend to lengthen the neck to an abnormal extent (*see* p. 12).

"Ear-Rings."

But, of all the parts of the body, the ear is perhaps the most suitable for the attachment of jewellery, and consequently there are few tribes which do not make use of it in this way. Besides rings, which are almost universal, the tribes of South-east Asia, Borneo (*see* p. 13), East Africa (*see* pp. 16 and 17) and elsewhere, insert large and heavy plugs in the lobes, which are often so distended that they reach the shoulders. The upper part of the ear is also pierced in many parts of Africa, and ornamented with rings or sticks of wood. The turn of that irresponsible wheel, fashion, has again brought the ear-ring into prominence in England, and so prevented the disappearance among a civilised people of one of the last relics of a very barbarous form of decoration. In fact, it may not be so pleasing to those who pride themselves on belonging to a civilised nation, to realise how slight is the essential difference between the customs of the despised savage and of the British aristocracy in the matter of ornament. Not only all the world over are women, in this respect, in the words of Kipling, "as like as a row of pins," but a tyrannical fashion has decreed that, for the daughters of Eve, the French proverb, "*il faut souffrir pour être belle*," shall have a very real meaning.

Significant Ornaments.

Another use of personal ornament must not be omitted, viz., that of indicating a certain status. For instance, the crown, or some analogous form of decoration, as an emblem of royalty is too widespread to need comment. But the crown is not only a sign of temporal power; in many countries it is worn as a token of supremacy over the masculine heart, and as such it is the mark of a bride—a custom especially familiar in Norway.



WANGATA WOMAN, CONGO FREE STATE.

With heavy brass collar: these collars often weigh 30 lbs. or more. The ornamental scars on face and body should be noticed.

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In accordance with the idea that ornament is a sign of personal importance we find that among the tribes where women

NATIVE WOMAN OF S-E. AUSTRALIA.
Showing ornamental scars. From a sketch by Elandowski.

are of little account, they are nearly always deprived by fashion of all save the most elementary form of adornment.

But many forms of ornament are closely connected with matrimony. The tattooing of a girl usually corresponds with the "coming out" so familiar with us, and, among the aborigines of Malay, the filing of the teeth has a similar signification. Among the Hopi of Arizona a *coiffure* supposed to represent the squash-blossom is a sign of virginity (*see* p. 20), while the matron signifies her married estate by two long tresses representing the squash-fruit. More closely resembling our own custom is that prevailing in Fiji, where the hanging locks which distinguish the unmarried maiden (*see* p. 21) are cut off upon her marriage. The Kikuyu girl of British East Africa wears an ornament corresponding to our engagement-ring, and there are also countless forms of adornment which, like the plain gold circlet of Europe, betoken the state of married blessedness, one of the most peculiar of which is the "tail" attached to the back of the girdle of Nilotic negresses (*see* p. 22).

Clothes and Conventions.

From ornament we pass imperceptibly to the question of clothing, and indeed there is no real difference, in so far as the former has evolved out of the latter. We may even go further, and say that it is not an innate feeling of modesty which has produced clothing, but clothing which is responsible for the feeling of modesty in man. We have only to look at a few of the non-European races to see how entirely conventional this feeling is, and how it differs in various parts of the globe. The first care of a Mahometan woman surprised at her bath is to conceal her face; the Chinese lady would feel excessive shame at the uncovering of her foot; the Sumatran at the exposure of her knee; and a woman of a certain tribe in Africa would be terribly upset if the small twig at the back of her girdle should happen to fall off. Some Asiatics think it unseemly for a woman to show her finger-tips, and in America a woman of the North-west could not bear to be seen

By permission of D. Fülleborn and Messrs. Dietrich Reimer.

YAO WOMAN, EAST AFRICA.
Showing the ivory stud worn in the upper lip by women of this tribe.

without her lip-plug, while a Carib beauty would far rather appear in public without her girdle than *minus* her paint.

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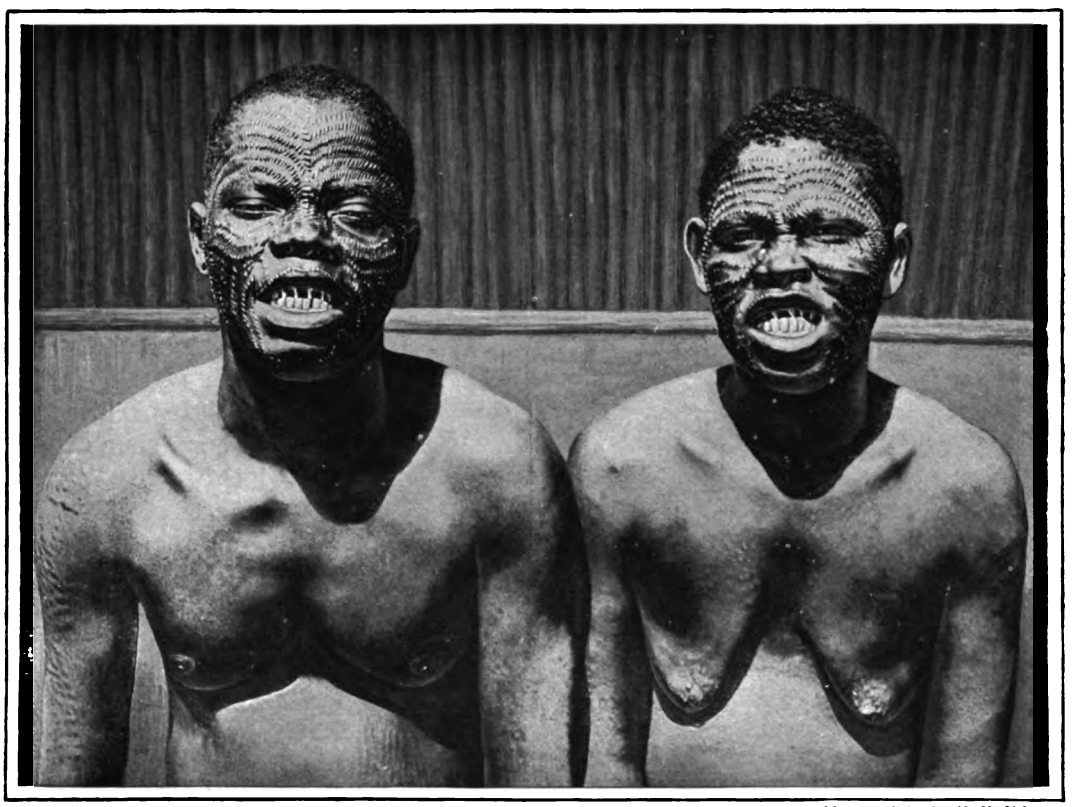
Another instance of the conventionality of modesty is seen in certain aspects of Japanese life and ideas as compared with our own. Among this people the two sexes in some places still take their baths in common without finding the process at all awkward, yet the representation of the nude in Japanese art is rare, and even considered improper. With us, of course, the reverse is the case; in few places in England is mixed bathing, even in full costume, allowed, yet the nude in art, thanks to classical traditions, is common and, generally, passes unchallenged.



Photograph by Sir H. H. Johnston

NATIVES OF THE UPPER CONGO.
Showing ornamental scars and filed teeth.

A German savant has propounded an ingenious and attractive theory, according to which he divides clothing into two types, tropical and arctic. The first of these is based on the waist-cloth or girdle, which varies between the string of beads (*see* p. 15) and the cloak as its two extremes; the second is composed of jacket and trousers, and serves as much for the protection of the body as for its adornment.

Climatic Influence on Clothing.

The two types will be seen to shade into one another as we pass from the equator to the poles, until, among the Eskimo, the ladies are found wearing the bifurcated nether garments which, with us, are usually associated with the male sex. The difference of clothing of the two sexes in Europe is interesting; it may be explained by the fact that while the occupations of the man take him out of doors, the woman is usually relegated to the house, and so has not found the necessity of discarding the old "tropical" garb. Further, may it not be regarded as a significant fact that the "emancipation" of woman, so important a social item in the last half century, has been accompanied by the occasional adoption of "rational" costume for certain out-door occupations such as cycling?

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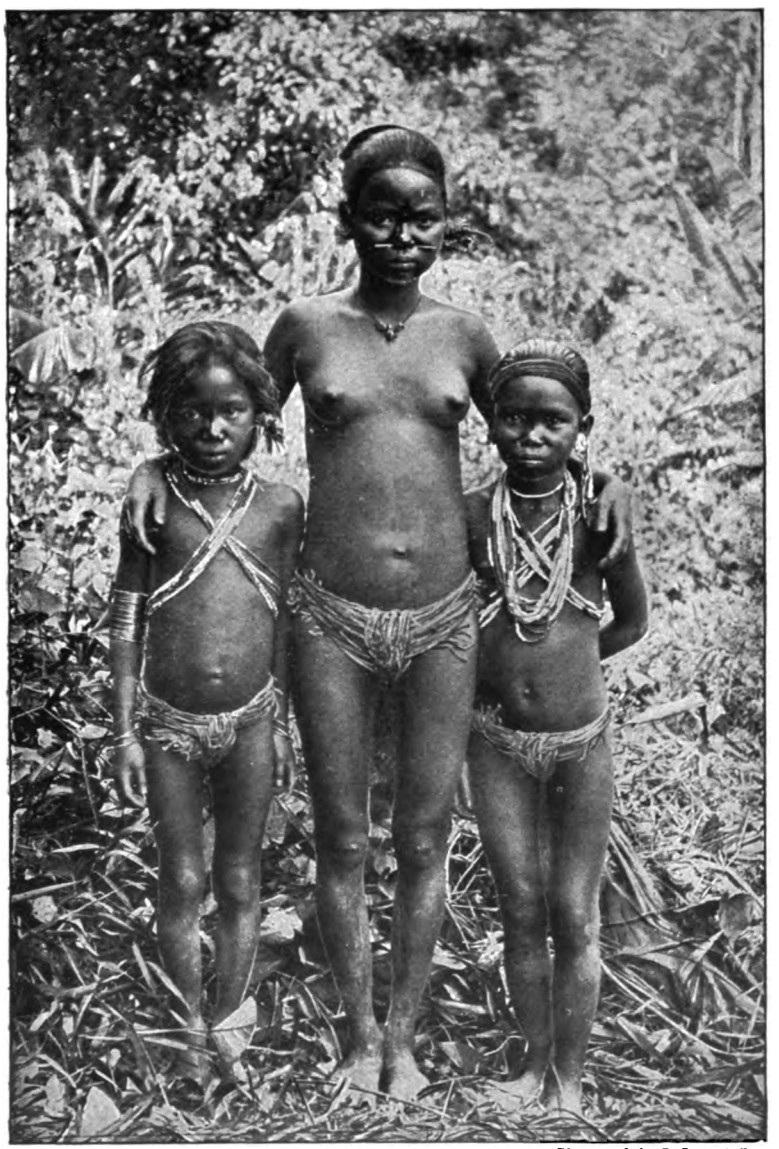
It is noticeable that in countries where much outdoor work is performed by the female members of the household the latter are often found to have adopted the garment which is usually considered typical of the sterner sex; this is common as near home as Champéry in Switzerland (*see* p. 29). The amount of clothing worn by a people, however, is not absolutely conditioned by climate, as can be seen by comparing the very full costume of the Arabs with the almost complete nakedness of the inhabitants of the extremity of South America, where practically arctic conditions prevail.

But the clothing of the women of the world will be amply illustrated in the subsequent pages. Here we need only recall the original purpose of clothes and ornament—to make the wearer beautiful in the eyes of the other sex, and especially of the suitor.



Photograph by B. Cerruti, Esq.

SAKAI GIRLS, MALAY STATES.

The central figure is wearing the nose-pin which is a common ornament among primitive peoples.

Love and Courtship.

As is known to every grown-up person, not to speak of many who are only growing up, courtship is a serious matter, and while it lasts it appears to be a very engrossing occupation. The beginning of courtship can be traced in the tender unconscious premonitions of childhood, no less than in the unmistakable love motive of a large class of games, which are sometimes reminiscences of old and long forgotten marriage customs, sometimes a sort of preliminary canter over the course. All the world over where games are found at all (in some countries, India for example, they have few or no games, but make up for it by marrying earlier), children play at being husbands and wives. In Australia the little black Queenslander builds his hut and sits in its shade with his "gin," till a rival disturbs his marital felicity by suddenly abducting the girl and carrying her off into the bush in the most approved Australian style; of course the original owner disputes possession with the abductor and a

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Photograph by Sir H. H. Johnston.

MASAI GIRL, EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE,
Having her ornaments of iron wire adjusted.

battle royal ensues; or the couple may disappear into the bush.

When love-making passes from the unconscious stage of childhood to the conscious—painfully conscious—stage of youth, the main note in both sexes is what may be called self-exhibition. The hair is Nature's covering for the head; man has found it necessary to add the hat, but in the civilised world the hat and, still more conspicuously, the hair have long outgrown their original purpose, at any rate so far as the softer sex is concerned. But although woman instinctively seeks for an opportunity of display in the presence of the opposite sex, her efforts are veiled under a show of modesty which tells her that in the alternate seeking and fleeing, which we see in the female of many species of birds, lie her strength and much of her attraction to the male.

Misogynists like Schopenhauer, and ascetics like Tolstoi, have set out in uncompromising terms the real meaning of the female fashions in dress. Women, it is true, protest indignantly against the implication that their intention is to ensnare the male animal; but the *décolleté* gown tells the whole story. A woman seldom displays her charms for the benefit of her own sex; when she sets herself to outshine her rivals in an exclusively feminine environment she is like the miser who begins by saving money for a purpose, and ends by hoarding it for its own sake. Woman begins by decking herself out to catch the eye of man, and ends by arraying herself in all her glory when man is absent. She is accustomed to gratify her feelings by triumphing over hated rivals with the aid of decorative arts, and the desire for triumph remains when the cause of the desire, the love motive, cannot be gratified. How early this feature appears—it seems to be almost innate in the female mind—is apparent from the intense importance which a three-year-old child will attach to her hair, from the interest which she will take in the hair of her companions, and from the enhanced value attached to a doll with real hair.

Feminine Charms.

But it would be unfair to suggest that the male underrates the importance of

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physical charms in love matters. On the contrary, there is no surer sign of budding manhood than the intense effort to make the best of every outward advantage. If the dress of the European male gives little opportunity for display he makes the most of his small resources. In our own age the essential element of this display has ceased, in deference to a more stringent code of morals, to manifest itself in striking forms like those of the male garments of the fifteenth century, which find their parallels in savage decorations. In the lower stages of culture additions to Nature's garb may be adopted either for warmth or decorative purposes. Modesty is not one of the motives which sway the savage; in fact, much of his costume at a mixed dance is solely for the purpose of enhancing his charms. His girdle decorations were originally, and still are, intended for purposes which we cannot connect with our ideas of clothing; and some of the strange fashions of the fifteenth century may fairly be put in the same category, as a brief study of the fashion plates of the period shows.

Man's Effort to Attract.

Photograph by Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

SHAN WOMAN, BURMA.
Showing ear ornaments.

This is not the only means of self-exhibition. The male sex is everywhere given to displaying martial prowess, strength, or courage before females. It is this suggestion of martial prowess, no less than the uniform, which makes the soldier such an enviable possession; perhaps the policeman and the volunteer may profit by this same feeling.

Much of primitive dancing is an exhibition of one sex before the other, and though the civilised world has practically abolished this kind of dance in favour of more direct methods of stimulation, it has developed all sorts of games to take the place of this saltatory display.

With the progress of civilisation the opportunities for display have become greater. Primitive man does not invite his neighbours, much less their wives, to dinner; in fact, a man's own wife in early stages of society usually gets no more of the meal she sets before him than the bones he throws over his shoulder. "*Nous avons changé tout cela*"—but the sigh of relief that rises from the masculine heart when the ladies retire after dinner testifies to the strain put upon him by his habits of self-exhibition.

Leap-year traditions apart, wooing is with us, as with other white nations, and many of the lower races, a matter for the male. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that there are no countries where the bashful bachelor does not have to wait to be wooed. In the Torres Straits Islands it would be the height of bad form for a young man to make the first advances; at most he may scent himself, and so declare his willingness to be won. But even after the preliminary steps, which consist of the exchange of bracelets, all is not plain sailing; the young man must still hang back. If the admiring damsel sends him food he gives it to his relations, for "perhaps woman he gammon" as they say in their "pidgin" English. Even when they meet, the girl must make the running; she sends a message to her young man to meet her in the bush.

Where the Woman Woos.

Photograph by Watts & Skeen, Rangoon.

PADAUNG WOMAN, BURMA.
Showing neck ornaments of wire.

Breaking the embarrassing silence the

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youth considerately asks, "You like me proper?"

"Yes," says the girl, "I like you proper with my heart inside. Eye along my heart see you. You my man."

This is satisfactory, but the well-brought-up young man needs more declarations of affection before he gives himself away.

"How you like me?" he inquires.

"I like your fine leg, you got fine body, your skin good, I like you altogether."

This probably overcomes all difficulties, and following up her advantage the lady presses her young man to name the day. When matters have got as far as this, it is no longer incumbent upon him to wait to be pressed, so the man replies "To-morrow, if you like," and they go home and tell their relations, who promptly celebrate the occasion by a general mêlée.

Photograph by R. Shelford, Esq.

TANJONG GIRL, BORNEO.

Showing ear-lobes distorted by heavy ornaments.

The coming of the missionary has changed much of this; but even now the proposal often comes from the girl, and the tender missive, singular to relate, does not always take the form of a letter—stationery being scarce on the islands. A school slate has been pressed into the service of Cupid by an impatient maid, and if the messenger is not marvellously discreet there must be a certain publicity about the love affair.

Among some of the rude tribes of India the woman's courtship is a far less agreeable experience. If the man of her choice does not respond, she takes a jar of rice beer, and sits down in the man's house. The women of the family know what the rice beer means, and if they don't want the marriage to "come off," they are allowed to use any means short of personal violence to eject the fair wooer from their doors. They may put pepper on the fire, drench her with water, or load her with opprobrious epithets, but to gain the man of her choice the lady has only to hold out some two or three hours, and the bridegroom is hers.

In the bazaar marriage of the Santals we have an instance of a similar practice on the part of the man.

Marriage by Mark.

If the girl of his heart is shy and stand-offish, he dips his fingers into red paint or earth and waits his opportunity to slip unobserved to her side, and make a mark on her brow. If he is prudent he loses no time in making his escape, for her male relatives will otherwise give him a thrashing; but the marriage is valid, and the girl can only escape by getting a divorce in due form.

African princesses apart, whose wooings and weddings will be described in the chapter on Africa, the Torres Straits Islanders show us woman's rights at the apex of their development. At the other end of the scale are the nearest neighbours of the islanders—the Australians, whose bold wooers make sure of their lady-loves by first knocking them on the head with a club and then carrying them off. Between these two extremes, as the sequel will show, there are all varieties of courtship.

Various Methods of Wooing.

If the Torres Straits method is typical, the maxim "Feed the brute," well known to the civilised world as the recipe for post-matrimonial happiness, seems to be likewise a method of securing a lover. In this connection it may be noted that the dinner party and the dance—of which the supper is one of the most important features—are

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not unknown among ourselves. More conspicuous among methods of wooing are music and poetry. At the present day they do not enjoy very great popularity, at any rate in England; for though breach of promise cases provide us with examples of poetry, the verses are rather evidence of the lover's affection than desperate assaults upon the citadel of a maiden's heart; and the serenade has no longer a place in the armoury of the modern lover.

Music and Lovers.

Among savage tribes the strains of music and the allurements of poetry are so strong that bachelors are positively prohibited from pouring forth their souls in this way, at any rate to an audience, on the ground that such things are demoralising. The too susceptible heart of the Chukma maiden is liable to be carried by storm, and in the interests of morality the young man is forbidden to sing within the village. In the jungle, however, the regulation does not appear to prevail, hence the great popularity of picnics among this people.

With ourselves music is on the whole divorced from love-making, but this has not always been the case in the long history of man's development. Whether the lover in barbarous and semi-civilised races has seized the opportunity offered him by the greater development of musical skill, or whether, as seems probable, the use of music in winning the heart of the fair has done much to raise the standard and the executive skill in music, is a problem on which the man of science has yet to make up his mind. It is a curious and suggestive fact that we can trace among birds a similar tendency. Some species pair, it is said, for life; others are polygamous, not to say promiscuous, in their love affairs; and it is remarkable that the monogamous males entertain their mates with graceful and harmonious utterances—there is even a well marked type of song—while the voices of the polygamous species are vehement rather than beautiful, at any rate from our point of view, but what the hen bird thinks about it is another matter.

Kissing Customs.

For the European the word courtship calls up a complex set of ideas, and one of the factors in it is kissing. A kiss has been defined as the approach of two pairs of curved surfaces as far as the point of contact; but this hardly seems to do justice to the operation in question, at any rate when the performers are young and of different sexes. The kiss seems to have originated in Babylonia or the Eastern Mediterranean. At the outset it was by no means specifically sexual; in fact it may well have been a salutation exchanged, not between intimates but between those of unequal rank. Even at the present day the kiss is far from being universally known. Europeans have no doubt introduced it into some lands, where the fair maidens were disposed at first to suspect their white adorers of cannibalistic designs.

Leaving the imported kiss out of the question it may be said that salutations with the lips are found in Europe and West Asia, Africa, and part of America; but it by no means follows that these correspond to what we call kissing. The Red Indian lays his lips softly on the cheek of the salutee, and no sound is heard nor motion made, and the Jew did not kiss on the lips. In fact the kiss proper, the kiss given to, and received from, a beloved woman is an exclusively European possession, and on it we may found our claim to be called civilised. Ignorance of the kiss is a mark of barbarism or savagery, for no people that had once possessed the kiss could possibly forget it.

Everyone has heard of nose-rubbing—a custom found from Lapland to Greenland, and from further India to Easter Island. The name is an unfortunate one, for the contact is not the essential element; the nose-kiss as it might be called is fundamentally a smelling of the recipient. In reality therefore it comes very near the kiss on the cheek.

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JA-LUO FISHERWOMEN AND THEIR BASKETS.

Photograph by Sir H. H. Johnston.

Women of the Ja-Luo, a Nilotic tribe dwelling around Kavirondo Bay, Uganda Protectorate, who take their part in the fishing operations conducted on the lake. They are here shown with their large conical fishing baskets, into which the fish are driven. They are one of the least clad people in the world.

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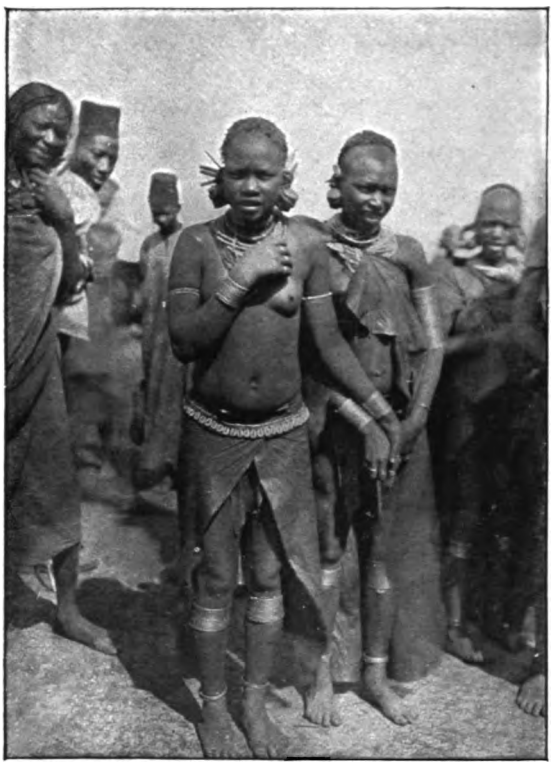
Courtship Dangers.

Courtship is not unattended with dangers; in fact some races, wise in their generation, manage all these things by proxy. Woman likes to feel herself the bone—or flesh—of contention; and it is with the utmost satisfaction that a would-be bride sees two champions do battle for her hand, whether they be blacks in the



By permission of A. C. Hollis, Esq.

KIKUYU GIRL.

Showing ear ornaments, consisting of large wooden cylinders in the lobe of the ear, and wooden rods in the upper part.

wilds of Australia, mediæval knights, or hooligans of the twentieth century.

Instinct rather than reason led the early girl to give herself to the all-comers' champion; and as a strong arm and a skilful hand were in those days the essentials fo successful housekeeping, it may be said that her instinct was a sound one. In our own day the views of the fair sex are very different; money is more attractive than muscle; but this does not make courtship less dangerous, it only exposes the suitor to one kind of risk instead of another. The specifically English institution of the breach of promise case is an illustration of the instinct in the modern girl.

Courtship had other dangers in days gone by; the musician who wooed the susceptible heart with the guitar was ill-provided when his rival appeared to make matters lively by a hand to hand encounter; but these dangers are things of the past. Between the Scylla of the sleepy householder, ready to pour the vials of his wrath —not to mention less innocuous vessels—on the disturber of his midnight rest, and the Charybdis of the constable, the suitor is reduced to silence, and can only pour out his soul in silence.

But all these dangers of courtship, due to the existence of rivals, pale before the supreme risk—that courtship may end in marriage. Among civilised nations a man may escape, but in the lower stages of culture bachelordom is practically unknown. To be a bachelor argues some infirmity, and the infirm probably find an early grave, not infrequently in the stomachs of their comrades.

It must not, however, be imagined that the savage is more rash than civilised man. It must be remembered that the duties of a husband in a state of nature are comparatively simple; money is probably unknown, and the wife cannot beg for a "duck of a hat," for she does not wear one. Education is not expensive, the mother looks after the girls, the father after the boys, and there are no extras; house rent is unknown, the tax-collector does not call, pipes do not burst with the frost, and the cook does not give notice on the eve of a big dinner. It is true that in some parts of the world a married man may be called upon to defend his title to his wife against any one who happens to take a · · to her. But, after all, it is better to vith these matters by an appeal t than to carry on warfare by the more indirect weapons of dressmakers' bills and diamonds. A broken head may heal itself, but not the adverse balance at the banker's. In fact the savage may congratulate himself on being better placed than the civilised husband; for t' y of the former depends on his bic e

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the latter has to reckon with the caprices of the fair sex, as well as with the bank balance of his foe.

When the savage makes up his mind to get married, the first thing he does is to select a suitable mate, if custom does

Photograph by Rev. A. N. Wood.
WASAGARA GIRL, EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.
Showing ear plugs. Front view.

not require him to leave that to be settled by his relatives. Having got thus far, he has to decide how he will secure possession of her. The two main methods in vogue are (1) buying, and (2) stealing; but if he has a sister handy, it is often convenient to barter her, instead of paying for his bride in cattle, or other valuables. Where the second method is in use formalities are disregarded; at most, the aid of a few stout-hearted and active friends is secured. But the peaceful form of procuring a bride is attended with greater pomp and circumstance. Negotiations may begin at a very early stage, for, improvident as the savage usually is, he takes time by the forelock when it is a question of securing a wife. In order to make quite sure, he applies to be betrothed soon after a girl is born, if not before. He naturally has to wait some years, for thirteen is about the earliest age at which he can take his bride from her mother, and meantime, in Australia at any rate, he consoles himself with an older woman; for there age is no disqualification for a woman—she is never too old to marry. A Hegelian philosopher of our own day has suggested that love at first sight is due to the fact that the parties were friends, or lovers, in a previous incarnation; it is gratifying to record that he has been anticipated by the Australians, who say that the young man who marries an old woman must have loved her when he was on earth before, but was then unable to marry her because he died.

Methods of Securing a Wife.

If a wife is sometimes unduly young according to Western ideas, so, too, is the husband in some parts of the world. The religious duties imposed upon the son in some areas of India have brought it to pass that marriage is contracted by the males at the age of seven or eight; the woman

The Marrying Age.

Photograph by Rev. A. N. Wood.
WASAGARA GIRL.
Showing ear plugs. Back view.

may be older than her nominal husband by ten years or more and becomes his unofficial step-mother, but the legal fiction of the infant marriage provides the step-son with an heir who will in turn furnish him with a wife, and so *ad infinitum*. This curious arrangement is, it need hardly be

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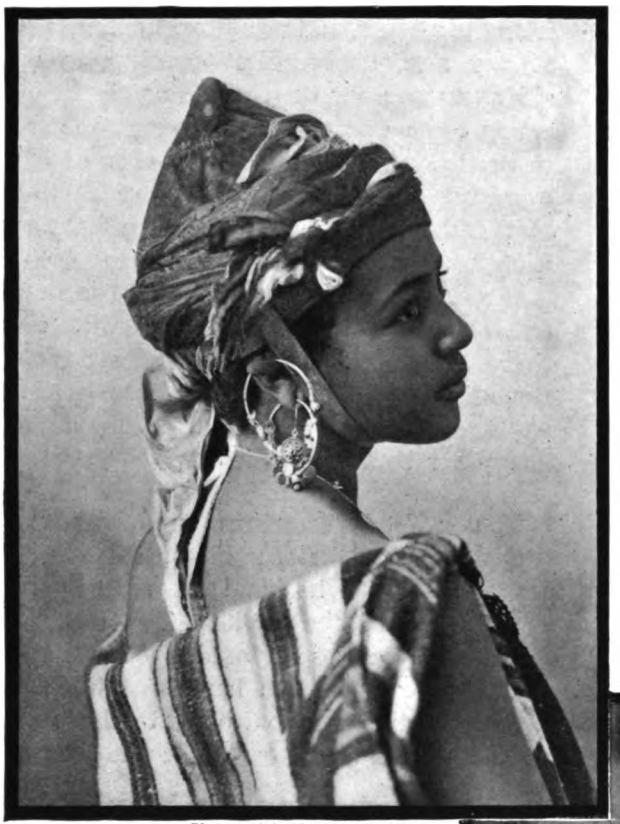


Photograph by M. Geiser, Algiers.

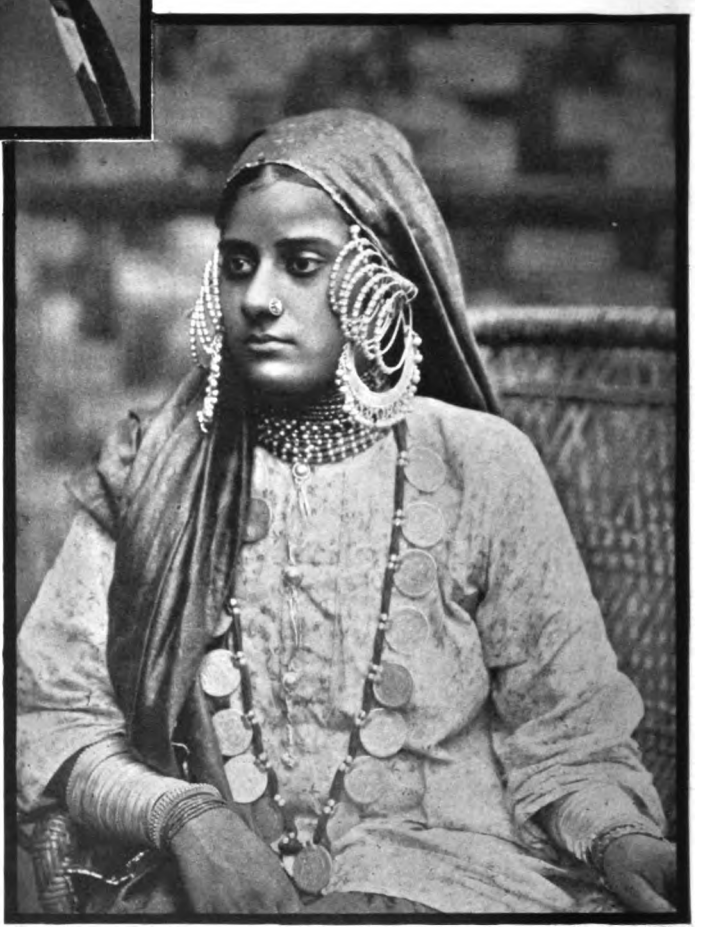
ALGERIAN GIRL.

Wearing ornaments both in the upper and lower ear.

said, far from common; in fact in many savage tribes father-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and son-in-law, are strictly prohibited from speaking to one another, and may even be compelled to avoid seeing one another; where conversation is permitted it must be carried on at a distance or in low tones, or is hedged about with other restrictions, so that the mother-in-law question cannot be described as acute among the lower races.

The Mother-in-law.

The mother-in-law is far and wide the butt of the jester; "*Schwiegermutter-Tigermutter*," says a pregnant German proverb. The Ranqueler Indians of Argentina go further than speaking ill of her in proverbs; old women are sacrificed to their god Gualitshu, and the favourite victim is the mother-in-law of the *pater familias*, who has to provide the sacrifice. But this custom is an exception, as a rule the mother-in-law is simply avoided. In South Africa the Amakosa, and other tribes, also prohibit the son-in-law from pronouncing any words in which the most important syllable of the name of his mother-in-law figures. In Australia a man must avoid not only his actual mother-in-law but also all the women who *might* have been his mothers-in-law. The observance of this custom, which would make it difficult to use the streets in England, is simplified by the camping



Photograph by Watts & Sheen, Rangoon.

TAMIL WOMAN.

With ears loaded with rings and wearing a nose-stud.

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arrangements of the blacks, and by the fact that perhaps only one-eighth of the women of a tribe are possible mothers-in-law.

Marriage Ceremonies Compared.

To characterise the marriage ceremonies of the world, and discover in them a central feature such as has been shown to exist in courtship is impossible. It must not be imagined that a marriage ceremony exists in every case. Marriage among Australian aboriginals, for example, consists in fetching the bride home from her parents, or in knocking her on the head and carrying her off. In the former instance there is a rite of betrothal or something which marks the girl as appropriated to a certain man; but of marriage ceremony there is hardly a trace in all the continent, unless we include under that head the ritual which was customary in the Dieri tribe when a man or woman, already married, obtained a few additional spouses.

Where a marriage ceremony exists it very often takes the form of marking with blood. At the present day there are many Indian ceremonies which seem to bear this interpretation; and perhaps it was in use in Europe at one time. At any rate there is a Norwegian story about a youth who was curious about the Huldren, or wood-women. These faery creatures are said to live during the winter in the huts occupied by human beings in summer, and the youth in question made his way to one and hid under a tub. Unluckily the Huldren smelled human flesh, like the giant of our youthful days, and when a maiden pointed at him the youth scratched her finger and drew blood. Thereupon the whole party surrounded him and insisted that he must now marry the girl, because he had marked her with blood. There was more than one objection to this course, an important item being that the fair maiden had a tail; but there was nothing else for it, and fortunately when the bride was baptised, her tail fell off like a tadpole's, and they lived happily ever after.

Another widely spread custom is that known to the Romans as *Confarreatio*, the eating of the round sacrificial cake by the bride and bridegroom. This, too, is a Hindu marriage rite, and the remarkable part of it is that the pair eat together at the wedding for the first and last time in their lives; for one of the strange ritual prohibitions which are often called "tabus" forbids them to take their meals with one another thereafter. This custom of eating together to symbolise the union in marriage must have been widely spread in Europe, too, if we may judge by the strange survivals at the present day. In one part of France custom decrees that the newly-married couple shall partake of a dish of which the ingredients are a cock and a cat; and in many parts of Germany it was the custom for bride and bridegroom to partake of the

Photograph by J. Brecherel, Aosta, Italy.

HAIR-DRESSING IN AFRICA.

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Photograph by C. C. Pierce.

UNMARRIED HOPI GIRL, ARIZONA.
With hair dressed to imitate the squash-blossom, the sign of virginity.

"*Brauthahn*" either on their wedding day or on the following morning.

In not a few cases we find that some trial of strength is at once the condition of obtaining a wife, and the marriage ceremony itself. In the Malay Peninsula some of the wild tribes make the bride and bridegroom race round a mound, and if he does not succeed in catching her, he has to wait till another day — perhaps kiss-in-the-ring is a childish imitation of this rite, as so many children's games are. We find traces of similar customs in Europe again, though here it is the suitors who run and not the bride. Pausanias tells us that Odysseus won his wife Penelope by conquering in a race at Sparta, and a Libyan king Antæus is said to have put his daughter Barce at the end of a race-course as a prize for the man who should first touch her hand.

Not the least curious among marriage ceremonies are those in which a human being is wedded to an inanimate object. In India it is held to be unlucky to marry a third wife, and the husband who does so is expected to leave his wife desolate after no long period. The Brahmans therefore evade the difficulty by marrying him first to an arca plant, and then to the woman, who counts as his fourth wife. The plant is decorated with cloth and a piece of string and all the ceremonies performed as for a regular marriage, and then the plant is cut down.

In the same way among peoples whose customs direct that the eldest brother of a family must marry first, it is the practice for the eldest brother, who for any reason is prevented from marrying a woman, to go through this ceremony with a plantain, and thus set his brothers free to marry.

Photograph by C. C. Pierce.

HOPI MATRON, ARIZONA.
With hair dressed to imitate the squash-fruit, the emblem of fertility.

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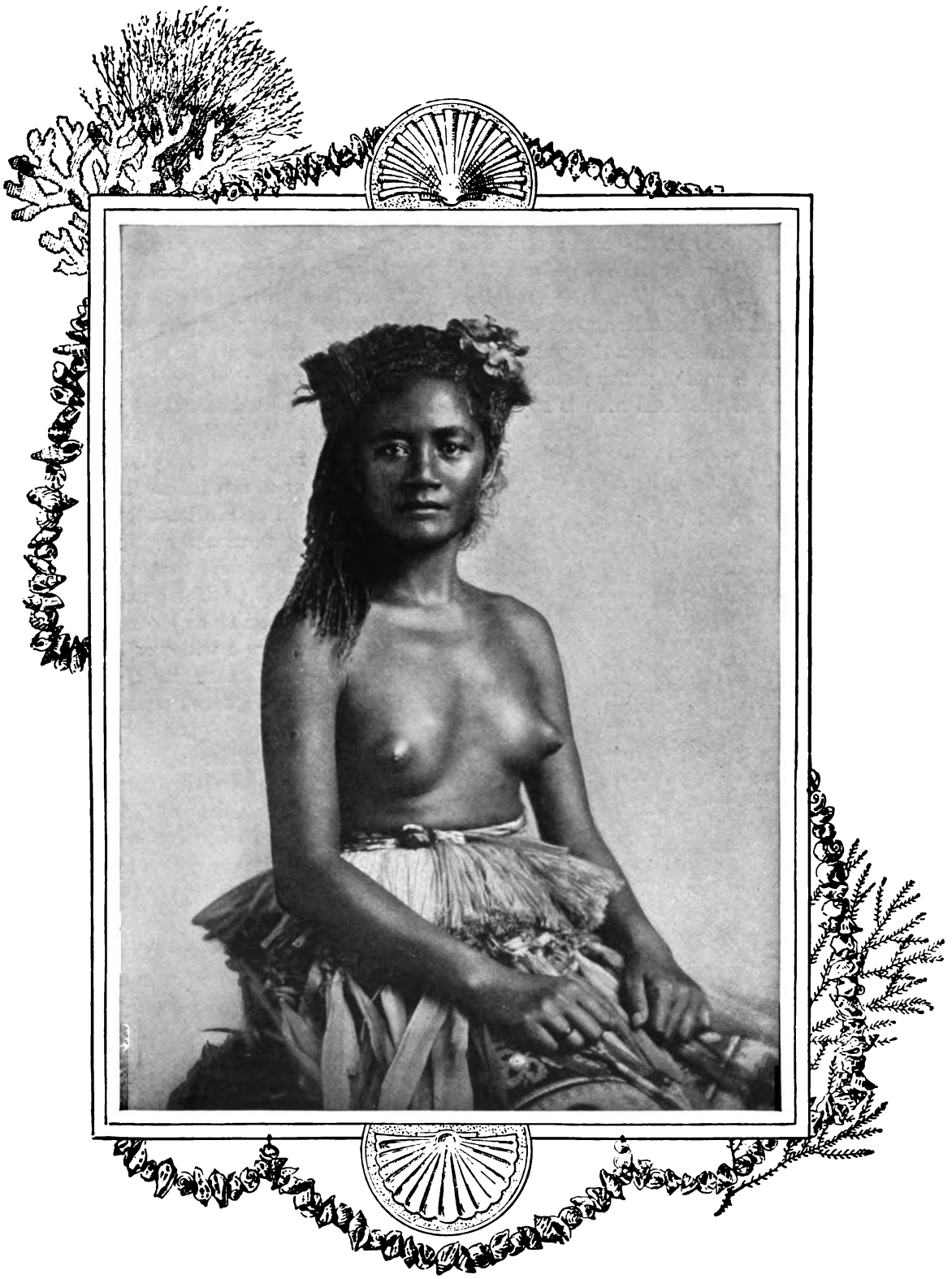

Photograph by J. W. Waters.

FIJIAN GIRL.

The locks of hair falling on her right shoulder show that she is unmarried. When she weds they will be cut.

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Widows and Widowhood.

From marriage we naturally come to speak of widows. The advice of Weller, Senior, to beware of widows, has been largely taken—in advance—by savages. For them a widow, especially one in the early stages of mourning, is a very dangerous person. It is not that her charms are so very overpowering—her husband's relatives see to that; and she has often to smear her face with a filthy compound, or, *horribile dictu*, to carry her deceased husband's mouldering remains on her back. Authorities are not agreed as to why the widow is so dangerous: some think that the ghost of the dead man is supposed to hang round her somehow; others think that our savage brethren look on death as something contagious which can be communicated by the corpse, or anyone who has had to do with a corpse, to another entirely healthy person.

However this may be, the widow has a very unhappy time of it, even if her satisfaction at her husband's death be unalloyed. But in other parts of the world people are, or were, less merciful: the dead man needs an attendant in the future life, and the most suitable person to serve him is his widow; so in India and Africa the unfortunate woman was compelled to sacrifice herself, or was sacrificed *nolens volens*, so that her lord and master might be recognised as a man of worth in the land of souls.

For the benefit of advocates of women's rights, it may be mentioned that mere man has not had it all his own way in the matter of suttee. In West Africa a widower had to dance attendance in the same way on his deceased wife, when she was of higher rank than himself. The mere man is also liable to the same mourner's disabilities and tabus as woman, so that really in this respect the sexes are on something like an equality.

Photograph by Sir H. H. Johnston.

KAVIRONDO WOMEN, UGANDA PROTECTORATE.
Showing the "tail" worn as a sign of marriage.

Woman's Sphere in Tribe and Nation.

But the social and intellectual side of woman must not be neglected; ever since the beginning of time woman's influence for good or ill has been a very real force in the family, tribe, state or empire. Though the sphere of women, from the earliest and most primitive days, when the care of the camp fire and the preparation of the food was relegated to her, has been nominally confined to the home, yet, in

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reality, it has always transcended this limit, and even amongst the savage peoples, where her position is little above that of a domestic animal, she has proved at least a very potent cause of war. Helen of Troy was by no means the first or last woman to involve whole tribes in disaster. Taken at her lowest value, woman has always been something for which to fight, and since a fight always discovers what is best or worst in man, the sphere of woman's influence, if it has any limits at all, has a far wider extent than appears on the surface.

"They talk about a woman's sphere,
As though it had a limit;
There's not a place in earth or heaven,
There's not a task to mankind given
There's not a blessing or a woe,
There's not a whisper yes or no,
There's not a life or death or birth
That has a featherweight of worth,
Without a woman in it."

But even in the limited circle of the primitive home the part assigned to her was all-important. The care of the fire which has been mentioned seems a small thing in these days of lucifer matches; but the extinction of the camp fire in the days of the stone-age hunter—in the days when the production of fire, even by the rubbing together of two sticks, was probably unknown—might well have spelt very severe hardship, if not death, to the family.

It has been said that among some tribes women are regarded as little better than domestic animals, but this does not necessarily mean that their lot is a very bad one. In Africa, it is true, agriculture is almost entirely the work of the women, but individually they are not compelled to work nearly so hard as some of the peasant women in Europe, nor is their position much lower than in certain Oriental countries of far higher civilisation. It is in the most primitive nomadic tribes where food is scanty and the supply uncertain that the lot of woman is hardest—as, for instance, among the Australian aborigines; and there she is quite as much the victim of circumstance as of sheer masculine selfishness. As she is, in most cases, a non-combatant, her comfort must be sacrificed to the efficiency of the fighting and hunting element, on which the very existence of the tribe depends.

The question of the relative proportion of men and women in a tribe also has a considerable influence on the status of

By permission of A. C. Hollis, Esq.
KAVIRONDO WOMAN.
Showing the decorated goat-skin worn by matrons.

women. Where the number of women is greater than that of the men we find that polygamy is the custom, and women being plentiful are considered of less value. Where women are few, as a general rule, monogamy or even polyandry prevails, the latter being the name of the custom in accordance with which a woman marries two or more men, usually brothers. This custom is found in parts of India and Tibet, and naturally under such circumstances the influence of women in society is great. Europe, with the exception of Turkey, stands outside the question of the balance of the sexes, for the reason that

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monogamy has become a doctrine of the Christian religion.

Woman's Work.

To return to the work of woman; agriculture almost all over the world falls within her province, though the heavy labour of clearing the ground is usually left to the stronger sex. The making of pots, basketry, and woven materials is also part of her duty, especially in America; though in Africa and elsewhere tribes are often found among whom these are essentially the tasks of men. In parts of British Central Africa, for instance, the husband makes his wife's clothes, and bad workmanship in this respect has been urged as an excuse for a divorce.

In hut-building, too, woman usually takes her part, though here also the heavier work is done by the men; and when the dwelling attains to the dignity of a solidly built house, as in New Zealand and on the North-west coast of America, she has very little share in the construction.

Certain occupations, such as the tending of cattle, hunting, the working of metal, heavier forms of wood-working, and canoe-building, seem universally excused her among less civilised tribes, though the first of these duties, at any rate in Europe, has often been allotted her.

Woman in War.

As to war, woman has already been mentioned as a very fruitful cause of strife; but she has in all ages played a part, though usually a minor one, in military operations, more especially in the defence of towns, as witness the many stories of female heroism in the accounts of sieges which have come down to us from the Middle Ages. Of the many warriors who have met their deaths at the hands of feminine foes, the names of Holofernes, Sisera, and Pyrrhus will occur at once to everyone.

Stories of tribes of warrior women, such as the Amazons, have been common since the days of Homer; but the only instance of women as professional fighters, except in isolated individual cases, occurs in Dahomey. Here, since the early eighteenth century a regular corps of celibate women has existed, divided into two wings and a bodyguard for the king. At first composed of criminals, they were later selected from the whole of the population, and came to be quite as formidable in fight as their brothers in arms.

Less creditable to the gentler sex is the share they have had almost everywhere in the killing of wounded, and the torture and slaughter of prisoners, especially in North America and New Zealand.

Where Women are of Importance.

A few words have already been said in general on the subject of the status and influence of women in different parts of the world, but this subject well deserves more detailed consideration. Among some peoples—in particular the Caribs of South America, several tribes in the Northern part of the continent, the Sumatrans, and certain African tribes—a man on marrying leaves his own village and takes up his abode in the village or house of his father-in-law. In this way the daughters of a family play an important part, in-so-far as they are the means of securing fresh supporters for the tribe or village. Indeed, in Africa a man will often be found fighting on the side of his wife's village against his own. Somewhat analogous in Europe is the occasional adoption by a man of his wife's name if she happens to be an heiress.

Of still more frequent occurrence than the above, among primitive peoples, is woman in her *rôle* of transmitter of property and rank. In many places, especially in Africa, inheritance runs in the female line, so that a man inherits the property of his maternal uncle, not of his father. Chieftainship, too, follows the same lines. Among some tribes of the North-west coast of America, a man marrying the daughter of a chief, or influential individual, receives with her certain rank and privileges not strictly regarded as his own, but to be held in trust for their children, the heirs of his own personal property being the sons of his sister.

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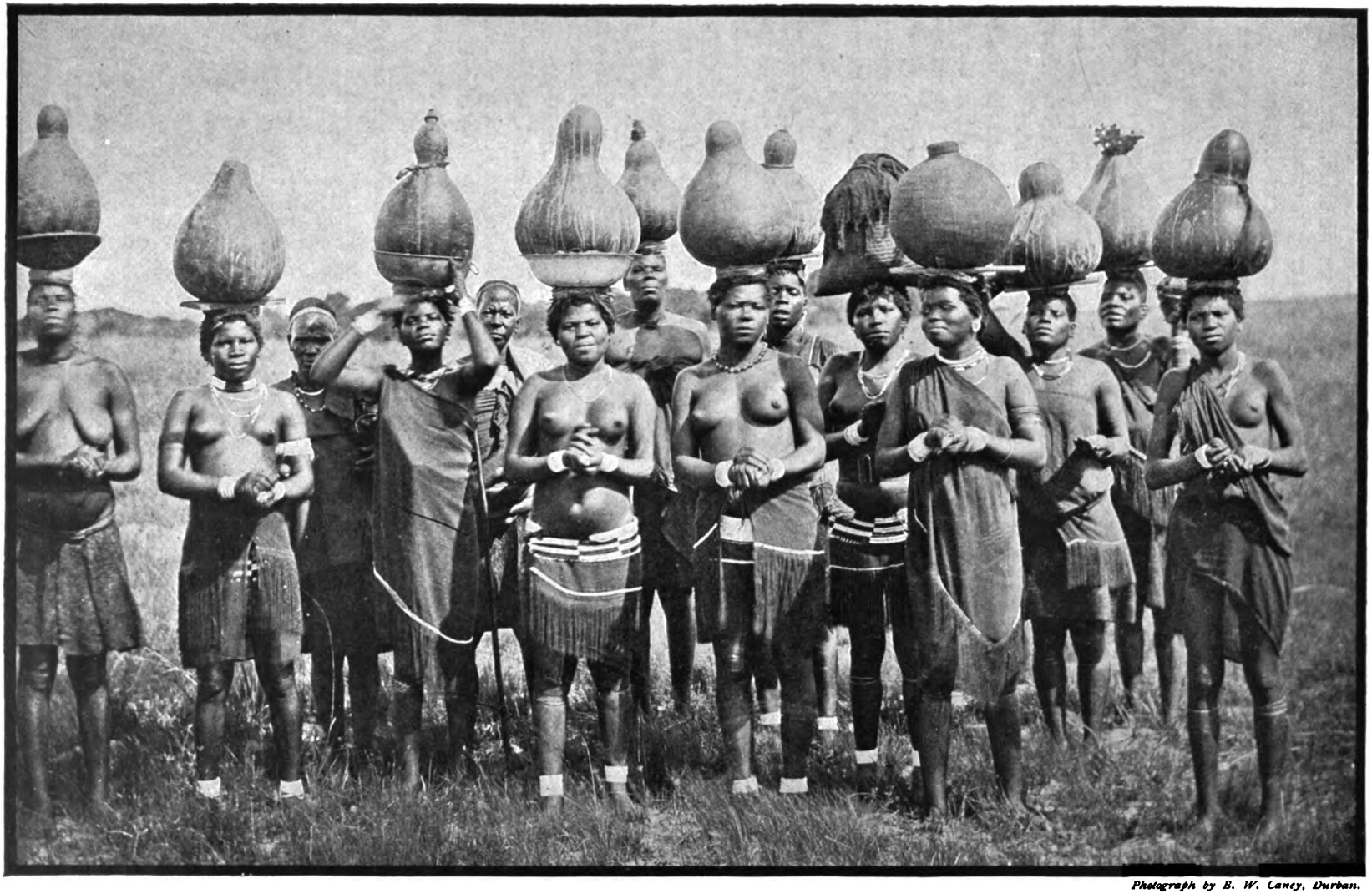

Photograph by B. W. Caney, Durban.

PREPARING FOR THE WEDDING.

Kaffir beer-carriers *en route* to a marriage feast, S. Africa.

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Ancient Egypt seems to afford a striking example of this system. Here the sovereign was regarded as an actual god, but his divinity was transmitted rather to his daughter than to his son, and, through her, to her husband. Hence usurpers, or founders of new dynasties, frequently established their position as sovereigns, and acquired the divinity inseparable from that position, by marriage with the daughter of the last king. This idea seems to have been the origin of the practice that the king's son should marry his sister, the effect being to secure his succession to the throne. Where such a custom prevailed it was natural that the women of the princely house should be regarded with the utmost deference.

The Position of Woman.

It has been said that though many of the uncivilised races regard women as little better than domestic animals, yet they do not, after all, hold her of less account than many peoples at a far more advanced state of culture. In fact it may be said that the position of woman in countries where the harem system prevails is less enviable than among savage races. Among the latter woman at least enjoys a reasonable amount of personal freedom, and the inferiority of her position relative to man is less keenly felt in proportion as her intelligence is of a lower order.

It is in countries such as Turkey that she claims our greatest sympathy. Here, in the harems of the upper classes, are found women quite as intelligent and well educated as those of Western Europe—in fact, often more so. Many of them have had English governesses, speak two or three languages, are well versed in the literature of other countries as well as their own, and perhaps —most bitter of all—are perfectly well acquainted with the freedom of life enjoyed by their Western sisters. They are on quite a different footing from the women of the savage world, in-so-far as they are capable of realising the inferiority of their position, a subject to which the savage woman in all probability never gives a thought.

Yet even the harem system, repressive as it is, cannot prevent woman's influence from making itself felt even in the most important matters of state, and many an Eastern potentate has owed his power to the tact, diplomacy and intrigue of his mother. The superior status of women of the upper and middle classes in Western Europe is due to a number of causes, one of which may well be the high esteem in which women were held by the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus; to this succeeded the chivalrous ideal of womanhood evolved in the Middle Ages. Though at this period the treatment of woman in the concrete often left much to be desired, yet the reverence for her in the abstract is reflected in most of the old romances.

But her influence was not active; it is true that many a young knight found the thought of his lady-love a mighty stimulus to splendid deeds; for her he fought, and to win her smile dared many a desperate encounter. The result was that woman became relegated to a pedestal, and on that pedestal she was content to remain until comparatively lately. In these recent days she has found her quarters there somewhat cramped, with the result that she has made great efforts to come down, and meet man on his own ground in many walks of life. At the same time the pedestal has never been quite discarded; woman keeps it handy as a refuge whither she may fly, if at any time in the life-struggle she feels that the superior strength of man is placing her at a disadvantage, and on which she may take her stand secure in her position as a member of the Privileged Sex.

Colonisation and the Position of Woman.

Besides the spread of education the rise of colonisation has no doubt contributed largely to the emancipation of woman. The married colonist in the hard fight of taming a wild country has found that his wife could prove a most efficient partner in his work. Close association, under severe conditions, has bred a respect for woman in the concrete which could never have been evolved from mere idealisation

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in the abstract. In the colonies woman has been given the opportunities, lacking in the mother-country, to show that she is worthy of a place in the outside world to which the Early Victorian girl at home would never have dreamed of aspiring. The return of colonial families to England, ease of travelling, and our close relations with America, have wrought a marvellous revolution in Western Europe; and herein lies a paradox. Though woman in primitive tribes is so often regarded as a creature on a plane quite below man, yet the reversion of civilised man to the primitive conditions inseparable from life in a young colony has been a potent cause of her emancipation. Civilisation alone is not enough to raise woman's status; the ancient Greeks were in many respects a people of very high culture, yet among them women as a general rule occupied a very subordinate position indeed.

Photograph by J. Geiser, Algiers.

ALGERIAN WOMAN.
Showing outdoor costume.

As regards the active participation of women in the affairs of state, such participation may be primary or secondary. The secondary influence—the influence that every woman worthy of her sex exercises over the males with whom she is in close relation—may be disregarded here; but it may be mentioned that the spirit of Mrs. Caudle would seem to be absolutely ubiquitous. That worthy and justly celebrated lady is in fact peculiar to no age and to no race; she is cosmopolitan and omnipresent. And Mr. Caudle will continue to vote just as Mrs. Caudle tells him to the end of time.

Woman and the State.

But woman has occasionally, though rarely, a more direct influence upon politics than this; in certain parts of the world, for instance among the Maoris, the women were allowed a voice in the tribal councils; and it is a coincidence that in New Zealand of to-day female suffrage is an accomplished fact. Even in our country the lady orator is a frequent feature of election meetings, and the word suffragette, though French in form, has a meaning for most Englishmen, however poor their linguistic powers.

But it is strange to find that the conditions which that magic word conjures up to the imagination existed in the days of the early colonisation of Africa by the Portuguese, the continent which, for the average man, shows woman on her lowest level compared with the sterner sex. In the "countries of Sofala" in South-east Africa, the following custom prevailed, according to Purchas, quoting from a sixteenth century chronicler. Here, when the chief died—to give the quaint form of the original—"Hee whom the decessed had named his Successor, goeth to the King's House where the King's Women abide in expectation, and by their consent hee enters the house . . . . Sometimes there are many Competitors, and then

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Hee succeeds whom the women admit to the King's House; for none may enter by Law without their leave, nor can bee King without peaceable entrance; forcible entrie forfeiting his Right and Title. By bribes, therefore, and other wayes they seeke to make the Women on their side." What

good, they have been very good, when they have been bad, they have been horrid."

Women sovereigns have been known from the earliest times; the legend of Semiramis, variously chronicled as the Queen of Babylon and Assyria, is at

Photograph by C. C. Pierce.

WOMAN AS THE WEARER OF TROUSERS.
A Chinese Girl.

more could the most ardent and optimistic suffragette desire?

From woman as an elector to woman as the ruler is a natural transition, and this is a subject to which it is impossible to do justice in the narrow limits of this chapter. Though women in a position of paramount authority are rare, yet such as have attained it have usually acquired celebrity owing to their excellence or the reverse; in fact, as the rhyme has it, "when they have been

Women as Rulers.

any rate evidence that female rule was not unknown at a remote period; in Egypt, where there is reason to suppose that the divine essence of kingship was transmitted in the female line, Queen Hatshepsut not only did much to raise the country from the decadence into which it had fallen, but also actively encouraged foreign exploration, if her sculptured records are to be trusted. This lady, moreover, though

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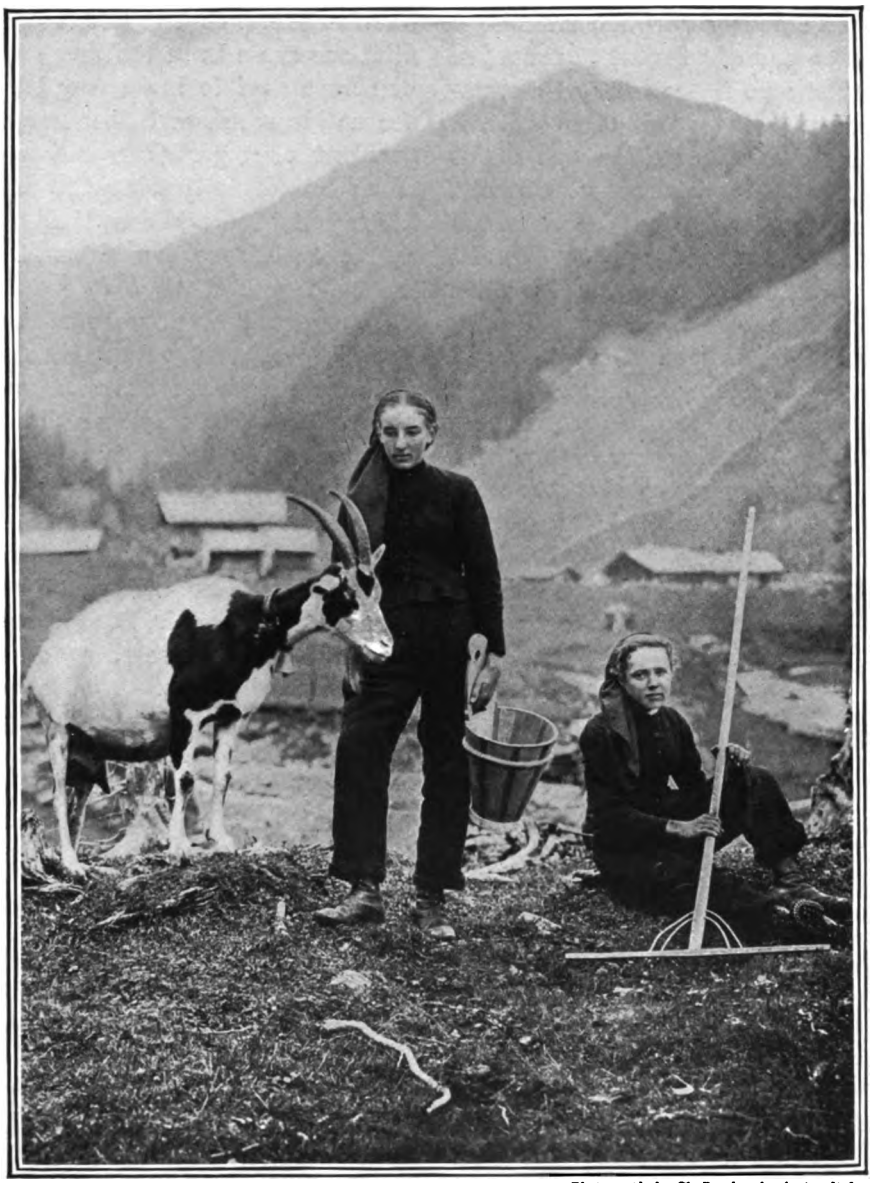
living in an age long past, certainly belonged to the class of woman called "new"; in so far as she was wont to spell her name with a masculine termination and was depicted in reliefs in masculine garb. In our own country periods of the most notable progress have coincided with feminine rule; the remarkable growth of sea-power and the magnificent activity under Elizabeth, the architectural and military triumphs under Anne, and the extraordinary scientific progress and colonial expansion under the wise rule of Victoria the Good, form some of the brightest pages in the history of our islands.

A striking example of remarkable political influence exerted by a woman is afforded by the recent history of China. The personality of the Dowager Empress has made itself felt not only throughout the whole of that vast empire, but has also had a not inconsiderable effect in the Western world. Japan, too, has experienced the benefits of female autocracy, as the legends of the



Photograph by J. Brocherel, Aosta, Italy.

WOMAN AS THE WEARER OF TROUSERS: WOMEN OF CHAMPÉRY, SWITZERLAND.

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Empress Jingo bear ample witness; and Cleopatra of Egypt, Catherine of Russia, and Isabella of Spain are names familiar to everyone.

Even among savage tribes women of the highest rank, though rarely attaining to a position of sole authority, often exercise a considerable amount of direct executive power. A chief who is the ruler of a number of scattered villages will often entrust the administration of each to one of his wives, whom he settles on the spot. Equally, if not more extensive, was the influence exerted by the Dowager Queen of Uganda, who had a separate little court of her own.

Women and Religion.

The relation of women to religion and superstition generally, including magic, still remains to be considered; and in this connection woman may be regarded in two aspects, as the victim of religion and superstition, and as its minister. First then as the victim. It is noticeable that nearly all religions enforce the inferiority of women as compared with men, and, speaking generally, as the scale of civilisation is descended the insistence on this point becomes more peremptory. In fact so many superstitious practices, among primitive peoples, seem to have been invented solely with the purpose of keeping the woman in a proper state of subjection, that one is almost tempted to believe that the fair sex is by nature unruly. Ceremonies at which no woman may present herself are common, and in the rites are employed certain paraphernalia which if seen by a woman, even accidentally, would cause her instant death. Thus in Australia the instrument known as a "bull-roarer" is carefully hidden from the female ken, and the noise it makes attributed to a supernatural being; so, too, in different parts of Africa there is the frequent phenomenon of the masked dancer supposed to represent a spirit, on whose appearance the women hasten to hide themselves. Any woman who gave the slightest intimation that she had penetrated the fraud would infallibly be killed.

A more unfair instance of religious terrorism relates to food. Throughout the savage world we very frequently find that certain foods are forbidden to women, under the threat of incurring the most terrible supernatural punishments. It would be charitable to suppose that such prohibitions arose from the fact that a woman had once died in some way inexplicable to the native mind, or had met with a severe accident, after partaking of some particular dish; but when it is noticed that the prohibited foods are invariably the chief delicacies, a suspicion as to how far the ordinance was inspired by masculine greed may not unnaturally arise. More pleasing, because they emphasise the closeness of the tie between husband and wife, are the restrictions sometimes laid upon the latter when the former is away on a warlike expedition, or hunting in the forest. For instance, a Dyak woman, when her husband is away on a head-hunt, must wear a sword, refrain from sleep during the day, and sit up as late as possible, lest her lord might be forgetful of his weapons or be caught napping by his foes. Similar practices are found all over the world, especially in Africa and South America. Attention may also be called to the religious sanction, which in our country subordinates the female sex to the male, and which is expressed in the bride's promise to honour and obey her husband.

Other-World Legends and Woman.

Many non-European peoples can give a long account of the perils to which the soul is exposed on its way to the other world, and of the joys, or the reverse, which it may expect when it gets there. As a rule, however, women do not figure very largely in these recitals. The important people in the next world among the Polynesians are precisely those who have been important in this, viz., warriors and chiefs. The kings of Dahomey and other West African potentates were so sure that they would enjoy the same rank in the next life, and so sure that a number of wives were necessary to

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keep up their dignity, that it was the proper thing to kill most or all of the widows at, or soon after, the funeral of a king. Other peoples, more merciful, have made up their minds that woman has no soul, and consequently they see no object in killing her when her husband dies. The Hindus were not of their number; for the horrid rite of suttee, or widow burning, has only been abolished in India within living memory.

A question, an answer to which will be found in the Bible, has also occurred to non-Christian peoples; the lot of the widow in the future world has given rise to many searchings of heart. In India the Santals have decided that she will belong to the first husband. As a wife is purchased among them it is accordingly the custom for a man who marries a widow to get her at half the price paid by the first husband, as when she joins the latter in the next world she will become his property again, and the second husband will have no claim on her.

The question of the old maid and her future lot has troubled primitive peoples but little, for the simple reason that she is unknown among them. Europeans are less merciful; it is the belief of some that old maids are condemned to take the form of peewits, and thus expiate for all eternity the spinsterhood which, if the truth were told, was probably not precisely their own choice. Another belief condemns them to make ropes of sand for ever, or, like Tregeagle, to bail out a quantity of water with a vessel that will not hold a drop. By the side of these penalties the punishment of women in Fiji who are not tattooed sounds comparatively mild; according to the pagan belief they were condemned to be dismembered in the future life, and to serve as food for the gods.

Even in the matter of a future life, however, man has not had it all his own way. On the Guinea coast a princess was allowed to choose as her husband any specially good-looking man; if she or her eldest son died before him he was put to death, for he was her slave both in this life and in the world to come. All things considered, the absence of good looks may have its advantages, even though it does involve marrying a less important personage than a princess.

Magic and Witchcraft.

With the subject of religion is closely interwoven that of magic. We are not here concerned with the distinction between them, and it is sufficient to characterise very briefly the position of women with regard to magic, and the main cause which has put her in that position. It is difficult to say what proportion of the average European man's (and woman's) time is taken up with love affairs or dreams. In the well-conducted individual they come to an end with marriage, and where intrigue and jealousy still prevail no one resorts to magic to heal his wounds. But, from the lowest depths of savagery up to the decay of the universal belief in witchcraft in the seventeenth century, love charms and love potions played a great part; and they are very far from unknown in the folklore of to-day.

In Europe of the present time it is almost always the old woman who is accused of magical practices. The predominance of women seems to date back at any rate to the tenth or eleventh century, and the magical character of old women is even earlier; but it is not easy to say exactly how it came about. One important factor in bringing women to the fore was certainly their greater activity in the weaving of love spells, and the use of love potions; and side by side with this, the use of poison as a means of revenge. All the world over we find a belief that women are especially skilled in certain kinds of magic, and it is to the love element that this must be attributed. Man can remove a rival or, if need be, bid for the heart of beauty by bolder methods. Woman has had to summon poison and magic to supplement the effect of her own charms.

In her second capacity as a maker of magic, or a minister of religion, woman has always played a most important part

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from the earliest times. Hebrew tradition credits Lilith, the first wife of Adam, with great magical powers; and to take an instance from contemporary literature, does not Kipling relate how the First Woman "sat up combing her hair. She took the bone of the shoulder of mutton—the big flat blade bone—and she looked at the wonderful marks on it, and she threw more wood on the fire, and she made a magic. She made the First Singing Magic in the world." And as it was at first so it is now, it is among women chiefly that are found the small superstitions as to what is lucky and unlucky, small observances and customs in daily life, which are in reality survivals of beliefs universally current in primeval times. This is due to the greater conservatism of woman compared with man, and this conservatism is in itself due to the nature of her occupations. The principal work of woman has always been in the home, and its character has altered far less under civilisation than the habits and occupations of her consort. Far less affected by changing conditions, she has preserved inherited traditions to a much greater degree. Beliefs change with the advance of time, and all beliefs are the heritage of a past age, consequently there is always a section of the population who are in advance of the beliefs generally current, and whom the latter fail to satisfy. Women, the greater conservatives and less affected, as remarked above, by changing conditions, are rarely numbered among this section, and are therefore, as a whole, usually found to be more devout than men.

But her *rôle* is often more important than this; she not unfrequently obtains as it were official recognition of her powers, and the witch-doctress or sorceress is a familiar figure in Asia, Africa and America. Often her magic is connected with the healing art, and under this aspect her most recent representative is the "wise woman" who is not quite extinct in England of the present day. More important still does her position become when her services are dedicated to some particular power, and she becomes a priestess. In this guise she appears in West Africa, North America, and Asia.

In countries where a more or less advanced stage of civilisation is found, the status and influence of the priestess is proportionately higher; nothing for instance could have exceeded the veneration with which the Vestal Virgins were regarded in Ancient Rome. Often, too, the priestess becomes the mouthpiece of the power she serves, as in the case of the priestess at Delphi and the Sibyl at Rome, of whom the prototypes are found also in the savage world.

The Origin of Woman.

In regard to the origin of woman, biologists have been known to maintain that she was not invented but simply "growed," and they proceed to trace her back to an amœba, and show how she was gradually evolved.

Originally, as the reader knows, living beings were sexless, and it was not until after many thousands of years of effort that a better way of managing things was discovered. In this period a cell set to work and grew, and when it had grown too big it split in two and then there was a great debate as to which was the baby and which was the mother; only they didn't talk then, and had never heard of babies; at any rate nobody knew which was the elder and which was the younger. Another curious result of these arrangements was that nobody ever died, though after a time he or she was entitled to ask whether he was himself or not, when so many fragments of him or herself, in bulk much greater than the original, were swimming about in the primeval sea.

To cut a long story short, the cell became a colony of cells, and the colony of cells became woman (and sometimes man), and now biologists, as is the wont of learned men, trace back the different qualities of man and woman to the remote period when nature agreed that division of labour was a good thing, and decided that there should be male and female, the former's duty being mainly connected with nutrition, the latter's with reproduction. Unfortunately for the

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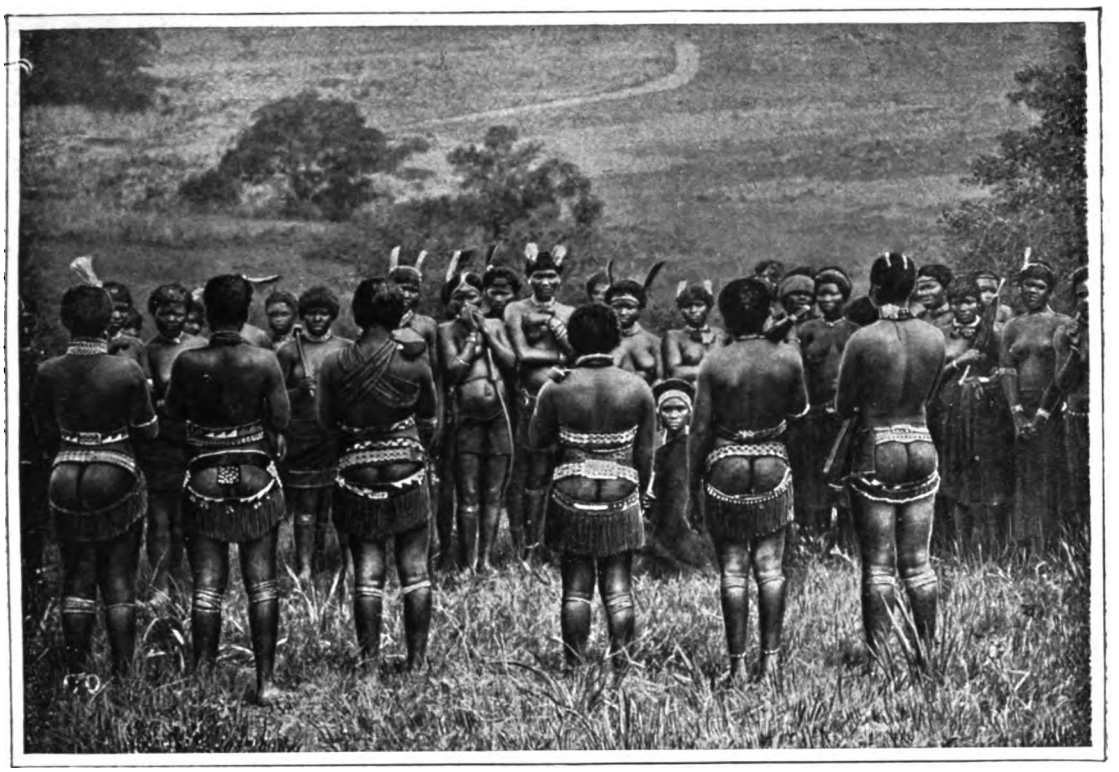

OLD STYLE ZULU WEDDING CEREMONY.

Photographs by B. W. Caney, Durban.

These pictures show in a very striking manner the changes which civilisation is introducing into the life of natives of South Africa. Each represents a Zulu native wedding. The first shows the women and girls dancing, with the bride in the centre, the latter holding a knife to signify that she is severing her connection with her unmarried life; the second gives a view of the ceremony as conducted on European lines.

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biologists the mental qualities of men and women happen to be precisely opposite to what an unbiassed observer would expect to result from the katabolic male element, and the anabolic female element; but that does not prevent the man of science from weaving a very pretty story, for which the curious may look in works on evolution.

From the fact that the original male cell was lively, while the original female cell was the reverse, the biologist deduces that man ought to be more variable than woman, more adventurous and inventive, should have a greater variety of ideas, greater powers of concentration, abstraction and generalisation, while woman's task is rather to conserve the species as she finds it, to make the best use of past conquests, and to apply old ideas; she has continuity, patience and stability. All of which would be very impressive if it were a prophecy from the known to the unknown; as it happens to be a prophecy from the unknown to the known, it is less convincing, especially as some of the statements are, if not untrue, at least unproved.

The Psychological Differences of Sex.

If the average man is asked to say how woman differs from man from the psychological point of view, he is probably nonplussed; he knows that man is stronger, but he has little information beyond that. Experiment shows that woman is man's inferior not only in strength but also in rapidity of movement, resistance to fatigue, and, though to a much smaller extent, in precision of movement. How far these facts hold good outside America is, however, another matter; the experiments were tried on American college students.

Experimental psychologists are accustomed to ascertain by trial the "threshold" for a given sense; that is to say, at what point we just perceive a noise, a smell, and so on, without being able to qualify it in any way. It is a curious thing that man is quicker at perceiving a light, woman at perceiving tastes, smells, colours, and simple sensations of touch; as regards musical notes men and women seem to perceive both high and low notes of the same pitch with equal ease. Although woman is so far ahead in detecting the first signs of a sensation, she does not have it all her own way; for man is ahead of her in discrimination. Woman holds her own as regards the pitch of a musical note and as regards colours, except shades of grey, but man is her master when it is a matter of distinguishing differences of weight, taste, etc., or of estimating by the aid of sight. In the matter of temperature, odours, and simple pressure, the two sexes seem to be equally gifted.

As regards the purely intellectual qualities the experiments show that man is perhaps superior in ingenuity, and that the social consciousness is more developed in him; while woman is better at feats of memory, and has a stronger religious consciousness.

The faculty of inventiveness is sometimes denied to women—by members of the other sex, be it understood, and in the absence of suffragettes. But it is quite possible that the human race owes far more to woman than it knows. Everywhere in primitive society we find woman charged with the task of collecting the vegetable food, and though mere man sometimes, even among the very primitive blacks of Australia, plays an important part in the harvesting of grass seed and other desirable dainties, the view has been seriously put forward that it is to woman we owe our cereals and our cultivated plants in general.

Dropping the biological standpoint there is a very close connection between the social, economic, and intellectual status of women generally

The question of genius cannot be approached here; genius is the peculiar attribute of no sex, country or age, and, whenever it occurs, is something abnormal; it is rather the distinguishing characteristics of the sex as a whole that will be treated. That the intelligence of woman is inferior to that of man ought not to be advanced as a serious proposition by anyone in these days. Even

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among savages where women rank considerably below men they frequently show even superior intelligence. The fact is that the male and female intelligences differ in kind rather than in quantity, and that difference is due in main to the difference in occupation. Woman has always since the beginning of time been occupied with details, and her life has always been regulated more by routine than that of man.

The girl has always received from her elders the precise rules—often emphasised by superstition—according to which this or that household task should be performed, and her mind has become trained to an observance of exact detail. Now it is quite true that her primitive consort is also a slave to routine, but at the same time in war, hunting and other forms of competition, where the observance of exact routine is absolutely impossible, he has been forced to learn that the interpretation of a rule must depend very much on circumstances. Consequently the masculine mind has become more trained to the search for first principles, leaving the practical application of them to the inspiration of the moment.

But it is just the faculty of patient application to detail which renders the work of women of such importance to modern science, and surely it is not for nothing that Science is usually personified by a female figure?

Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

JAVANESE DANCING GIRLS.

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By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN GIRLS FISHING WITH NETS ON THE REEF.

POLYNESIA

By A. HINGSTON, M.A.

I

Geographical Position—Physical Type—Beauty: Its Attainment and Preservation—Personal Decoration—Physical Deformations—Tattooing—Dress—Tapa and Its Manufacture—Samoan Mat-Clothing—Ornaments—Birth and Childhood—Infanticide—Pampered Childhood.

A LINE drawn in a north-westerly direction from New Zealand, across the Pacific through Fiji to Hawaii, roughly cuts off Polynesia (πολύς = many, νῆσος = island) on the east from Micronesia and Melanesia on the west; it includes island clusters studding areas perhaps 1,000 miles in diameter, and lonely islets hundreds of leagues from any neighbour; some are lofty and volcanic, but the majority are low coral atolls; on some the inhabitants form a dense population, and on others the barren and waterless conditions are incapable of supporting life.

The most important of the island groups stretch eastwards from Fiji, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn. These are Tonga, or the Friendly Isles; Samoa, or the Navigator group; Hervey or Cook Isles; Society Isles, including Tahiti; and the innumerable islets of the Paumotu or Low Archipelago, seldom rising more than three feet above the sea. To the north of the Paumotu, and nearing the equator, are the Marquesas, and far away across the equator and lying south of the Tropic of Cancer are the Hawaiian Islands, called by Captain Cook the Sandwich Isles.

All these groups of islands are inhabited by one race, the Polynesian, and all their languages belong to the same family, the Oceanic or Malayo-Polynesian.*

Physical Type.

The men are usually tall, with strong, well-made limbs and an erect graceful carriage. The head-form is more or less broad, the hair black or dark brown, straight or wavy, and luxuriant. The skin colour is a warm yellow or brownish tint; the nose is

* Austronesian of P. W. Schmidt.

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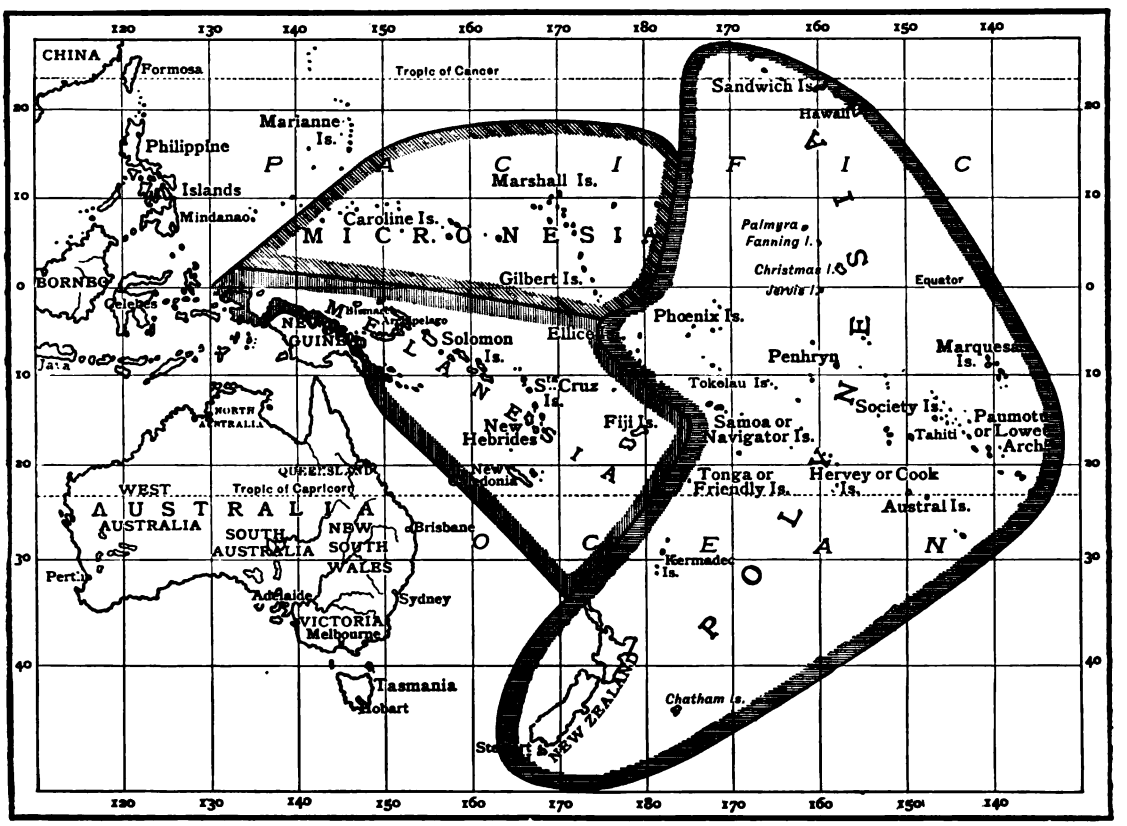
straight and prominent; the cheek-bones are fairly salient, but the superciliary arches little marked. Travellers and residents alike have pronounced the Polynesians to be one of the finest races of the world, and many do not hesitate to describe the women as perfect types of feminine beauty.

Poets have sung of their charms, of their



MAP SHOWING THE ETHNOLOGICAL DIVISION OF OCEANIA.

grace and beauty, of their child-like simplicity, and have told of their eyes, shining like lustrous stars beneath the deep fringed lids; of their skin of the tenderest olive, the olive that has a shade of gold in it, like a honeycomb that has entangled a sunbeam, and is therewith transfigured; of heads turbaned with glossy ropes of hair casting a twilight shade over brows of purest olive; of full ripe lips, parting in a smile, disclosing teeth that are in themselves a smile.

And Byron has immortalised the

"Gentle savage of the wild
In growth a woman tho' in years a child;
The infant of an infant world, as pure;
From nature—lovely, warm and premature,
With eyes that were a language and a spell—
A form like Aphrodite's in her shell."

The walk of the Polynesian has often attracted attention. Mrs. Bishop (Isabella Bird) thus describes the Hawaiian gait: "The women have a most peculiar walk, with a swinging motion from the hips at each step, with which the shoulder sympathises. I should know a Hawaiian woman by it in any part of the world. A majestic *wahine* (woman) with small bare feet, and grand swinging deliberate gait, *Hibiscus* blossoms in her flowing hair, a *le* (wreath) of yellow flowers falling over her *holuku* (native garment), marching through the streets has a tragic grandeur of appearance, which makes the diminutive fair-skinned *haole* (foreigner) trotting along hesitatingly in high-heeled shoes look grotesque by comparison."

Another traveller, describing the Tongan

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women, speaks of their "perfect busts, and figures that seem to tread on air. The women carry themselves even better than the men—and it is remarkable that the old women do not become hags, but the figure remains perfectly slim and upright, and very elegant. The way they are trained to walk has something to do with it, the shoulders square, the head thrown back, the arms at every step swinging well behind them."

The manner in which they sit is also credited with producing a straight back. While the Melanesians rest squatting, the Polynesians sit cross-legged, with an extra cross that only a Polynesian can accomplish and rest at ease. Nothing would induce a Melanesian to adopt the attitude of the Samoan girl on p. 43; she would consider it most indecent.

By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Fisher.

TONGAN GIRL WITH MAIDEN LOCKS WEARING A MAT.

Personal beauty is very highly prized among the Polynesians, and its development and enhancement are the main interests of the women. A love of bathing is one of the pronounced characteristics of the race, and this, in spite of the proximity of the sea, is always performed in fresh water. Even if the women have spent nearly all day in the sea—fishing, wading, shell-fish collecting, etc.—they will invariably bathe in fresh water on their way homeward. Sometimes a red earth, which lathers slightly in the water, is used as soap, or the juice of fresh green oranges answers the same purpose. These frequent bathings, together with the subsequent oiling with fragrant oil, and shampooings, make the skin peculiarly soft and supple, with a sheen like that of rich satin. It is noticeable that in Fiji, where the skin is not rubbed with oil, it is much less smooth and sleek.

Beauty: Its Attainment and Preservation.

Native taste considers that the two essential factors of feminine loveliness are fairness and fatness, and much care is exercised to shelter the skin from damaging sun-burn, so that a girl of high position often has as fair a skin as that of a European.

To attain the desirable fatness before making their *début* at the next grand dance, favourite children, whether boys or girls, were regularly fattened and imprisoned all day, a little gentle exercise being permitted at nightfall. If refractory, the guardian would even whip a culprit for not eating more, calling out "Shall I not be put to shame to see you so slim in the dance?" It was a point of honour to be the fairest and fattest of any young people present. The Rev. W. W. Gill, in his "Myths and Songs," says: "I know of no more unpleasant sight than the cracking of the skin as the fattening process proceeds; yet this calls forth the admiration of the friends."

Ellis, in "Polynesian Researches," also mentions this beautifying process, which in the Society Islands has the name of *haapori*. There was a particular resort for females of the higher class, "for the purposes of increasing the corpulence

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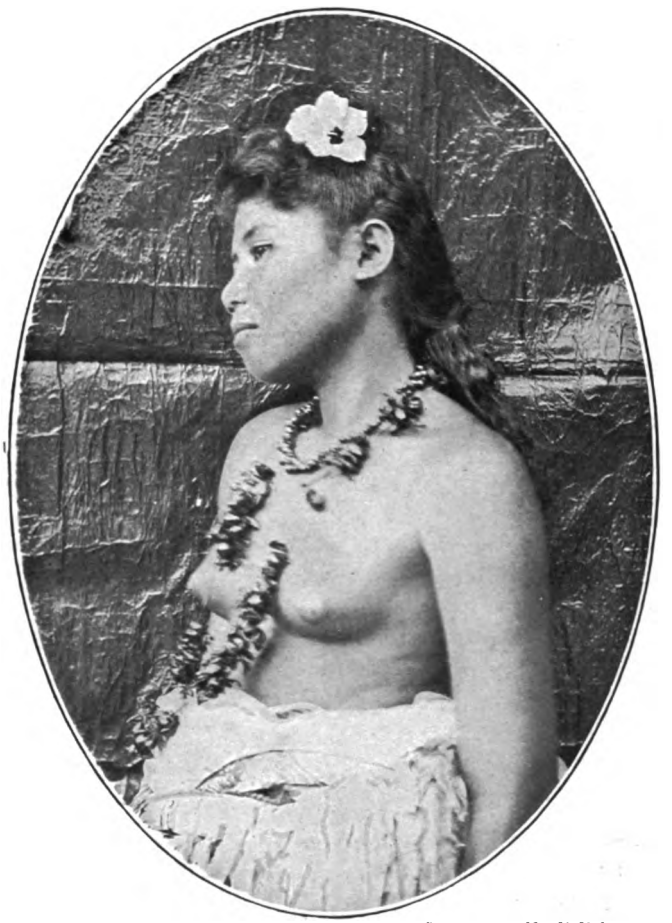
of their persons, and removing, by luxurious ease under the embowering shade of the coco-nut groves, the dark tinge which the vertical sun of Tahiti might have burnt on their complexions." So favoured was this spot formerly that a hundred canoes have sometimes been seen at one time on the beach.

The hair also receives a great deal of attention. It is dressed in various ways, perfumed with scented oil, combed, adjusted and decorated with flowers. Ellis describes the groups of women "sitting under the shade of a clump of wide-spreading trees, or in the cool mountain-stream, employing themselves for hours together in arranging the curls of the hair, weaving the wreaths of flowers, and filling the air with their perfumes." So important was the arrangement and adorning of the hair considered, that there was a god of hair-dressers, or combers, called Totoro-potaa, whose aid was invoked at the toilet.

On special occasions lime, made from burnt coral, is largely used in hair-dressing. The lime is mixed with water, and the head dipped in and then allowed to dry. The process is repeated several times until the hair is thoroughly coated with the mixture. This has the advantage of keeping the head in a clean condition, and it also dyes the hair a light brown, which has a curious effect.



By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

GIRL FROM SAMOA WITH HIBISCUS BLOSSOM IN HER HAIR

The illustration on p. 41 represents a Tongan woman on Saturday night, with her hair all plastered with lime in preparation for her Sunday toilet.

Some women favour the raised style of hair-dressing, which is especially characteristic of Fiji. For this the hair is cut fairly short, and stiffened with a mixture of scented oil and the gum of the bread-fruit tree; others prefer to wear their hair long, in sleek oiled tresses. The contrast is well shown in the two Tongan girls on p. 40.

An unmarried girl generally has a "maiden lock" hanging over her shoulder, like a seventeenth century love-lock, and the cutting of it off often forms a part of the wedding ceremony. The girl illustrated on p. 38 has two such locks. A widow has her hair closely cropped.

Physical Deformations. As usual Art is called in to aid or counteract Nature. In many of the islands the skulls of the babies are artificially deformed by pressure with stones or slabs of soft wood, applied before and behind. More curious is the artificial flattening of the nose, performed on girls alone. The mother presses the plastic nose of the infant so as to spread out the nostrils on either side, and produce a shape in consonance with native ideas of comeliness, "unlike the

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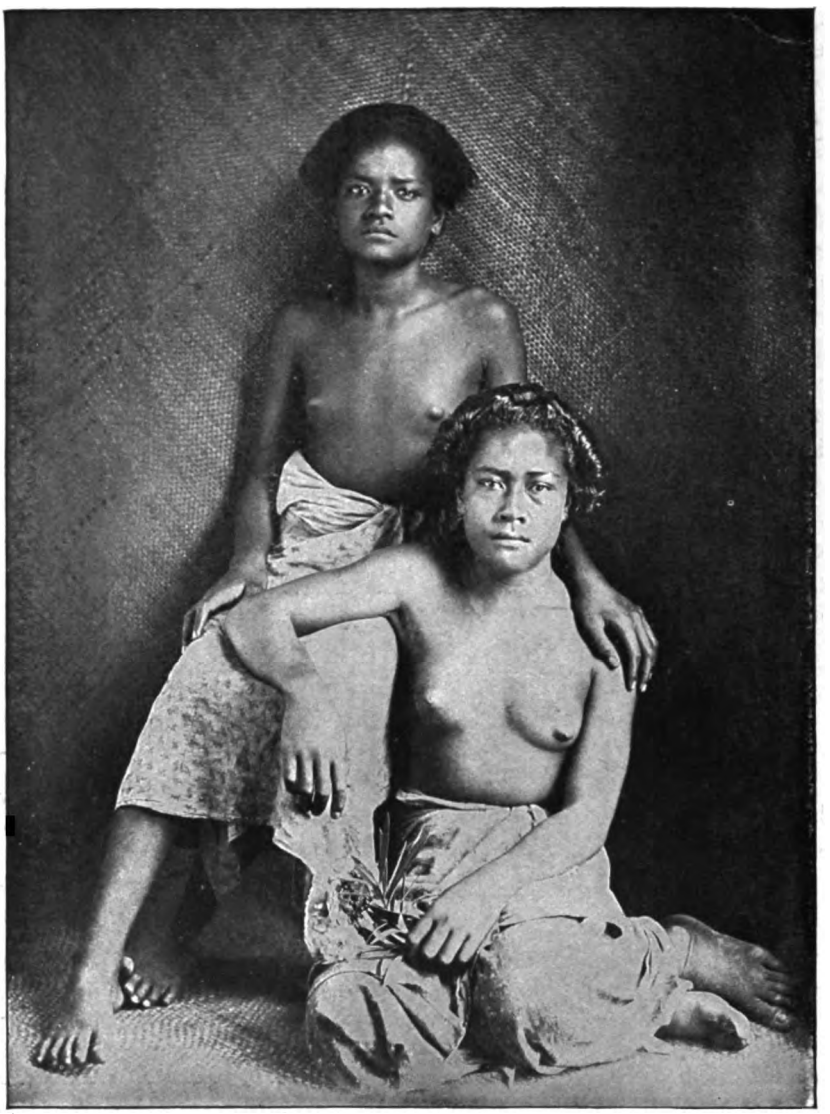
thin starved nose of the white race," as a woman was heard to say.

The ears of the children are sometimes pierced with a fishbone, and enlarged with



By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Luter.

TWO TONGAN GIRLS.
Showing different styles of hair-dressing.

Gardenia twigs, so as to admit a fresh plucked flower. The hole is often large enough to hold a bunch of scented leaves, which serves at once as decoration and perfumery.

Tattooing.

The most striking type of decorative deformation is seen in the tattooing, a custom prevalent throughout the greater part of Polynesia. The method employed is practically the same throughout the whole area. The instrument consists of a row of fine teeth usually of bone (either human, or the bone of a bird, turtle, fish, or small animal), or of thorns or pins, fastened to a light handle. A heavier stick is used as a mallet, to drive the sharp points through the skin. The figure to be traced is generally sketched out with charcoal, but even the most elaborate devices are carried out by the more skilled workers with no other guide than the eye. The colouring matter, into which the instrument is dipped, is made from the kernels of the candle-nut (*Aleuritcs trilobata*), baked,

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charred, pulverised and mixed with oil. Soot from the seeds of *Calophyllum inophyllum*, mixed with oil from the same

By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN WOMAN ON SATURDAY NIGHT,
With her hair plastered with lime, in preparation for the Sabbath toilet.

seeds, is also used as pigment, and occasionally a purple stain is composed from the scraped roots of a tree, mixed with lime.

The operator, immersing the points of the sharp bone instrument in the colouring matter, which is a beautiful jet, applies it to the surface of the skin, and, striking it smartly with the elastic stick held in the right hand, punctures the skin, and injects the dye at the same time "with as much facility as an adder would bite and deposit her poison."

Ellis adds "that the operation was continued as long as the person could endure the pain, but it was seldom that a whole figure was completed at once, and the scheme of decoration often extended over several years."

In some islands both men and women are tattooed; in most, the women are more sparingly decorated than the men, and their faces are seldom marked. A prevalent fashion in Tahiti was the tattooing of the feet in a pattern suggesting a lace-work boot, reaching to just above the ankle.

Patterns generally vary between the sexes, one type of design being characteristic of male decoration, and others of female. In Rotuma a favourite design for the men is the *perero*, supposed to represent a strong-smelling flower which the young men give to their sweethearts. The women's proper marks are circles enclosing designs, placed three in a row on each arm, diagonal marks along each finger joint, and small blots on the hand below the base of the thumb between the palm and the wrist. Only the women with their hands thus marked were able, in times gone by, to peel the vegetables for the chief.

In many of the groups tattooing is now discontinued, owing to the influence of the

By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TAUPOU, OR OFFICIAL MAID, OF APIA, SAMOA.

missionaries, and its connection with heathen customs. In Huahine (Society Isles), native law decreed: "No person shall mark

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with *tatau*, it shall be entirely discontinued. It belongs to ancient evil customs. The man or woman that shall mark with *tatau*, if it be clearly proved, shall be tried and punished. . . . This shall be the woman's punishment: she shall make two large mats, one for the king and one for the governor." . . . . "The man and woman that persist in *tatauing* themselves successively for four or five times, the figures or ornaments marked shall be destroyed by blacking them over." It is not told how the obliteration was to be accomplished.

In other groups tattooing still flourishes by the side of Christianity. Robert Louis Stevenson, when describing the Samoans, said: "They are Christians, churchgoers, singers of hymns at family worship, hardy cricketers; but in most respects they are the contemporaries of our tattooed ancestors who drove their chariots on the wrong side of the Roman Wall." Samoan damsels will not look at a man unless he is tattooed, although the best part of the decoration is now covered by clothing.

Dress.

The ancient costume of Hawaii was said to consist of "a smile, a *malo* and a cutaneous eruption," and the children wore even less, being clad, as Mark Twain described it, "in nothing but sunshine—a very neat-fitting and picturesque apparel." Nowadays, in the same island, every child trots to school morning and noon in print frock and pinafore, or coat and trousers, according to its sex.

Complete nakedness was never a Polynesian fashion, and though the climate renders clothes almost unnecessary, artistic taste in costume is characteristic of the people, and they seem to possess an instinct for the becoming. But it must be confessed that this instinct is being rapidly eradicated under the influence of civilisation and Manchester goods.

Owing to the absence of all indigenous mammals except rats and mice, and owing to the ignorance of a loom, the native dress materials are all derived from the vegetable world. The simplest costume is a covering of *ti* leaves (*Dracaena terminalis*), forming a petticoat from waist to knee. This was the ordinary Samoan garment, mats and native cloth being worn only on special occasions. In Tahiti native cloth was worn by all, and "prince and peasant, warrior and voluptuary, were clad in vestments of the same material." But on coral atolls, where fibre-producing trees and plants are unknown, petticoats are made of split *Pandanus*, or coco-nut, leaves coarsely plaited.

One of the prettiest of native garments is the fringe made of various plants and leaf strips, called in Tonga the *sisi*, worn commonly round the waist, over a skirt of *tapa*, or else round the neck as a decoration. The women may often be seen sitting under the shade of a tree, chatting together while weaving the fragrant fringes of *Pandanus* strips, and fruits, nuts, flowers, and bunches of sweet smelling leaves. (*see* p. 44.)

Tapa and its Manufacture.

Native cloth, commonly called *tapa*, *i.e.* the beaten, is one of the most wonderful products of Polynesian industry, and the art of manufacture is brought to a remarkable degree of perfection.

Various kinds of bark are used for its preparation, that of the paper mulberry (*Brousonetia papyrifera*) makes the best cloth, and shoots of the tree are specially grown for the purpose. The legend of its origin is thus told in Samoa:—

There were once two brothers, Tutunga, the paper mulberry, and Salato, the stinging tree, and each had his plot of ground and a distinct boundary. One morning Tutunga crossed over his boundary and encroached on the land of Salato, who thereupon complained, and, unable to obtain satisfaction from the trespasser, referred the affair to their parents. These decided that the two brothers should separate, that Salato should go further inland, and be sacred and respected; and so it is, for no one dares to touch it. On the other hand Tutunga was to be punished for his aggression. He was to be cut, and skinned, and beaten, and painted, and made to cover the bodies of men. Then to rot, and then to be burned. And this is his fate to this day.

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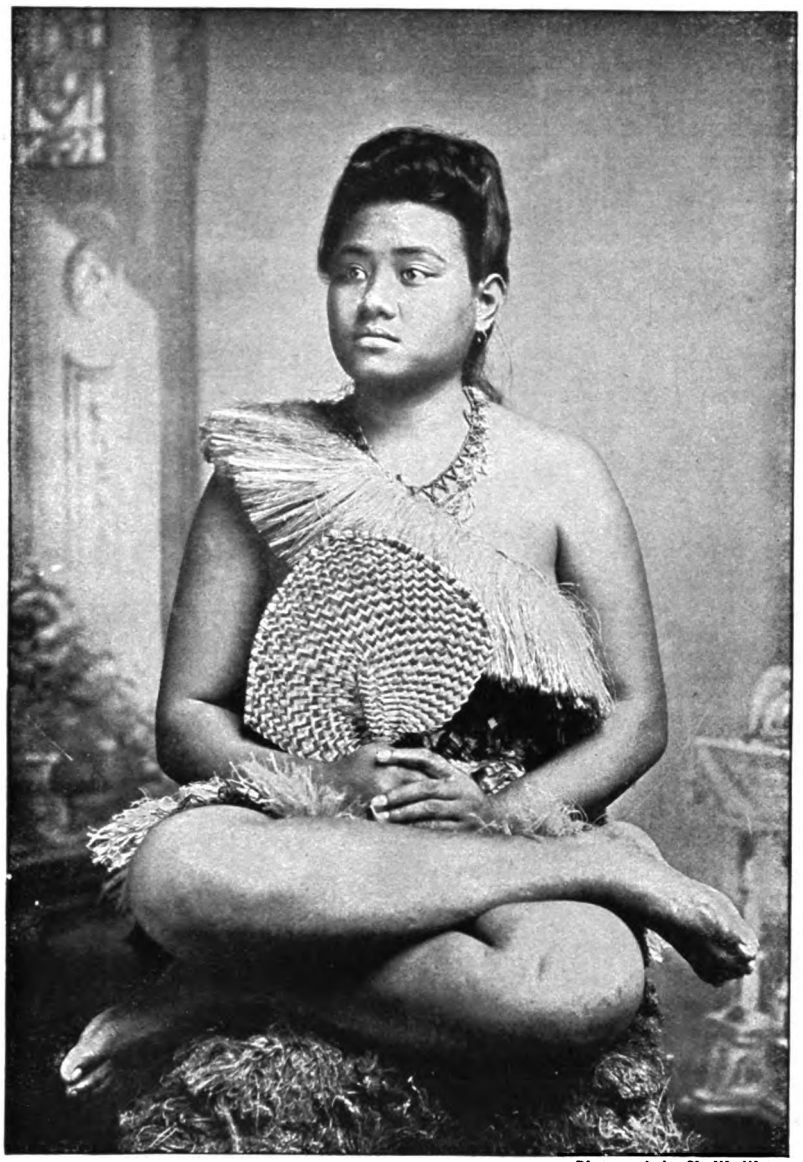

Photograph by J. W. Waters.

SAMOAN GIRL SITTING CROSS-LEGGED.
The hair is dressed in European style.

The poorer people, who cannot afford paper mulberry, use the bark of banyan, hibiscus, bread-fruit, and varieties of lianas in its place.

The making of the *tapa* is one of the most important labours of the women, and though to a great extent the native material is superseded by European cloth, it still forms the characteristic clothing in many parts.

The method of cloth-making is as follows:

First the bark of the shoots is stripped off, soaked, the hard outer rind scraped away, and the inner fibrous surface steeped in water; when thoroughly soaked it is laid on a piece of wood hollow beneath, or raised somewhat from the ground, with a convex surface above. On either side of this sit the women, each one armed with a mallet of heavy wood with which she beats out the cloth (*see* illustration on p. 48). The mallets are square, with rounded handle ends, and the sides are incised in different modes, one surface having coarse ribs, another fine grooves, and another a chequered pattern, to give variety to the beaten fabric. The beating spreads the fibrous material into a broad sheet, as thin as tissue paper, and about as strong; it is kept saturated with

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moisture during the whole process of manufacture, and the fibres of bark become completely interwoven. The women hammer away, hour after hour, gossiping and laughing, and after several days or weeks, by beating out the strips, and joining strip to strip, large pieces of cloth are produced. A single piece is often two hundred yards long and four yards wide, though the strips of bark are rarely more than four to five feet long, and not more than one and a half inches broad.

By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN WOMEN PLAITING *SISI* OR PETTICOATS.

When the piece is finished it is spread out to dry in the sun, which bleaches it to a beautiful white. Cloth made of other kinds of bark does not attain the whiteness of that made of paper mulberry.

The next process is that of decoration, which is carried out by the aid of various dyes rubbed over patterns cut out of banana leaf, or made of ridges of fibre, or by ferns or flowers dipped into the dye, and then pressed on the cloth; finally a certain amount of durability and imperviousness to rain is attained by a layer of gum or resin to form a varnish. Only the most highly glazed textures are proof against wet, and a really strong well-made garment of native cloth will only last a few months. Cloth-making was at one time an almost incessant task, in which the women of all ranks were employed, from the queen and ladies of highest rank downwards. "The queen," as Ellis relates, "would have felt it derogatory to her rank if any other females of the island (Tahiti) could have finished a piece of cloth better than herself, and each lady of rank strove to excel in some particular department, either the elegance of the pattern, or the brilliancy of the colour."

The women generally work in parties of a dozen or more together, in the cloth house built for the purpose. Ellis describes his entering a large house in Eimeo, where sixteen to twenty women were all at work, "and the noise of sixteen to twenty mallets going at one time was almost deafening."

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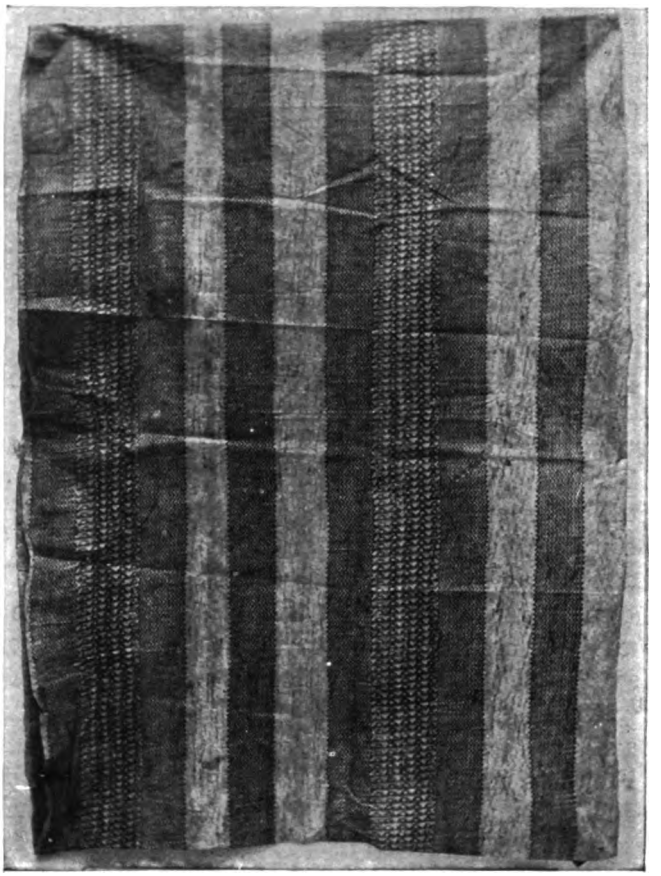
The queen sat in the midst and worked as diligently and cheerfully as any present.

The cloth is worn in various ways to form graceful draperies, and it is also cut up, according to patterns supplied with English fashion papers, and made into what the natives call "pinafores." The most effective garment is the Tahitian *tiputa*, which resembles the South American *poncho*.

It is made by beating together a number of layers of cloth so as to form a stout material. A thick piece of bread-fruit bark is chosen for the outer layer, and the inner layers are attached by slightly moistening them with arrowroot, and the whole is beaten together. When finished a hole is cut in the centre, through which the head is thrust and the cloth falls in ample folds to the knees.



HAWAIIAN "TAPA" OR NATIVE CLOTH MANUFACTURED FROM BARK.

Samoan Mat-clothing.

But great as was the pride taken in cloth making, almost more importance was attached to the mats which formed clothing, house furniture, and in some islands wealth and currency. In Samoa the fine mats are still considered the most valuable clothing. They are made of the leaves of a species of *Pandanus*, scraped clean and thin as writing paper, and slit into strips about the sixteenth of an inch wide. A special house has to be built for the work, as the growing mat must not be exposed to the domestic dangers of an ordinary house. It is not on every day that the maker may work, the weather must be fine and fair, or the weaving is blemished. The mats when completed are from two to three yards square, fringed, and sometimes ornamented with small scarlet feathers inserted here and there, and they are almost as flexible as a piece of calico. Few of the women can make them, and many years are often spent over the making of a single mat which is worth a few pounds when finished. These are preserved with great care; some are treasured through many generations, being valued all the more as their age and historic interest increase. One of these mats forms the full dress of the *taupou*, or official maid of the village.

Hibiscus bark, prepared with great care, is made into mats about three to four feet wide and nine to ten feet long. These are worn by the men either wound round the loins, or with a hole in the middle, as a *poncho*, or as a mantle thrown over the shoulders. These mats are remarkably durable, and are very light and elegant in appearance.

Ornaments are far more sparingly worn in Polynesia than in Melanesia, if we except the almost universal custom of the people of decking themselves with flowers,

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which adds a peculiar charm to the already attractive appearance of men, women, and children. A typical Polynesian girl always wears flowers in her hair, and the pure white with the dark centre or the rich scarlet of the *Hibiscus*, the pink of the oleander, the yellow of the alamander or the stars of the jessamine, show up well against the dark gloss of the hair. If the ear is perforated, it is to receive a flower, and wreaths of flowers are worn as garlands for the head, as necklaces, and as girdles on every occasion.

Ornaments.

Ornaments, except for floral decorations, are mainly confined to necklaces, bracelets, and frontlets of various descriptions. As in Melanesia (and probably indicative of Melanesian influence), one of the most highly prized ornaments is a nearly circular boar's tusk, worn as an armlet, or as a pendant round the neck.

The most valuable form of necklace is made of sperm-whale teeth, and such is the value with which they are held in Fiji that it is not safe for a common man to be known to have a tooth in his possession. The teeth are cut up into small curved pieces an inch or two long, which are strung together so as to project like a spiked collar round the neck.

Frontlets are made of shells, seeds, or beads, forming a band, worn across the forehead; but these are mainly reserved for official occasions. The *tuinga* or headdress of the Samoan *taupou*, or maid of the village, is a most complicated affair. Mrs. Churchill, in "Samoa Uma" gives a good description of its formation: "It is part wig, part frontlet of Nautilus shell, part bright plumage, and part scaffold of three sticks. It is not an easy thing to put on, for its component parts must be assembled piece by piece every time of using. It is productive of constant pain while it is worn, and is taken off with a feeling of relief, yet the sway of custom is so rigid that a *taupou* would scarcely feel herself clad without her *tuinga*. As this mass of hair and sticks is exposed to somewhat rough treatment and violent motions it must be firmly attached to the head. The foundation is a strip of cloth which is wound around the head at the roots of the hair and which serves to draw all the hair into a bunch at the crown, where it is allowed to stand up to its full length of three inches, which is the usual length. Upon this one lock is tied the wig of natural hair set in a frame of cloth or fibre netting. When that is attached so securely as not to be dislodged, the scaffolding of three twigs and a cross piece is tied in front and made fast to the cloth covering just above the forehead. Tresses of the green and red feathers of the tiny parakeet are attached to the wig and to the framework. The *tuinga* is completed by tying across the forehead a band of several rows of the partition plates of the Nautilus."

No wonder that the toilet of the *taupou*, before a dance, occupies several hours.

The Polynesians are often compared to a race of children, and the attitude of a Polynesian mother to her child frequently suggests that of a little girl to her doll. There is the same impulsive affection and the same heedless forgetfulness; periods of devotion alternate with periods of apathy and neglect, which have results as disastrous as deliberate cruelty.

Birth and Childhood.

The custom of infanticide is attributed largely to natural indolence, an unwillingness to take trouble, and a carelessness regarding everything but immediate personal ease.

Infanticide.

In some parts the first three children were always destroyed, and families of more than two were rare. In Tahiti a father with three or four children (which was a rare occurrence) was called by a special name, meaning a man with an unwieldy or cumbrous burden.

Economic considerations formed another motive for infanticide, which was also greatly influenced by the licentious tone of society. In the small island of Vaitupu only two children were allowed to a family by law, for fear of famine; while in Samoa, where food is abundant, infanticide was practically unknown. Samoa was also

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SAMOAN DANCERS.

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noted for its strict insistence on pre-nuptial chastity, at least in the higher ranks of society, while in the isles to the east such a condition was unknown. One of the laws of the notorious company of the Areois of Tahiti, which Ellis describes as it has nowhere been found so prevalent as among some of the Polynesian groups, where two-thirds of the new-born population are believed to have been destroyed. This destruction was often contrary to the desires of the women; the father was the

By courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN WOMEN BEATING OUT PIECES OF BARK TO MAKE *TAPA.*

"a sort of strolling players and privileged libertines, who spent their days in travelling from island to island, and from one district to another, exhibiting their pantomimes, and spreading a moral contagion through society," decreed the killing of all the children that might be born to them in their life of luxurious and licentious indolence and crime. A candidate for admission to the society had to murder all his children as one of the ceremonies of initiation. Owing to the reverence accorded to rank, if a man married a woman of an inferior order, the children were not allowed to live, as it was supposed that they would endanger the dignity of the family.

Thus, though infanticide is a custom which occurs among almost all races and peoples, autocrat of the family, and his decrees were frequently carried out in spite of the pleadings of the mother. A Rachel weeping for her children might often be seen in Polynesia, and the women have welcomed Christianity largely on account of its prohibition of infanticide. If the child was not wanted it was always killed immediately after its birth, and if it was allowed to live for only a few hours, its life was safe, and it was tenderly cared for.

Everywhere female children would have less chance of being spared than male, the reason given being that fishing, the priesthood, and war were the only purposes for which it was useful to rear children, and girls were useless for all.

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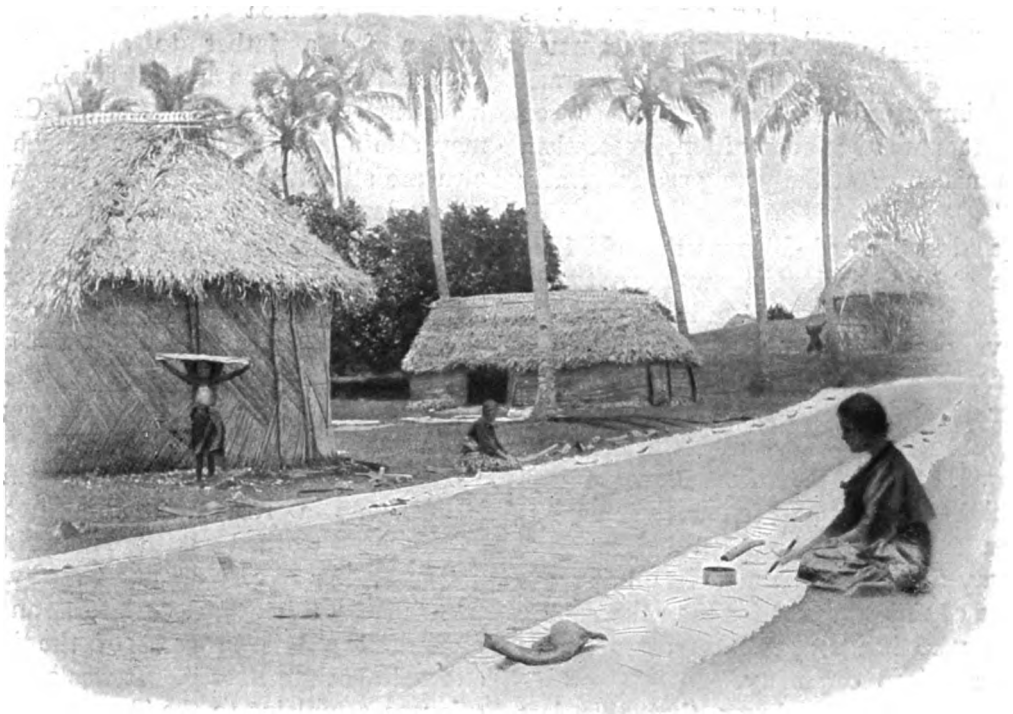
Pampered Childhood.

Polynesian children seem to illustrate the truth in that very ancient maxim, for they are never chastised, and they are invariably spoilt. Stevenson speaks of "the spoiling—I might almost say deification—of the child," especially by the Paumotu natives, "children make the mirth and the adornment of their houses, serving them for playthings and for picture galleries."

They grow up in an atmosphere of careless affection, they are petted and pampered by their parents as the fancy takes them, and left to look after themselves when more amusing occupations absorb their elders. Mrs. Bishop noted that in Hawaii far more tenderness was lavished on the pet dogs which the women carry about with them, than on the children. A mother will be almost heart-broken at the illness of her child, but she will rarely persist for many days together in any treatment prescribed by the doctor.

A woman aptly described this native temperament to Mrs. Bishop in the following words :—

"We," she said, "are always happy ; we never grieve long about anything. When anyone dies we break our hearts for some days, and then we are happy again. We are happy all day long, not, like the white people, happy one moment, gloomy another ; we have no cares, the days are too short. What are the *haoles* (foreigners) always unhappy about ? " Mrs. Bishop adds, "She evidently thinks us a sour, morose, worrying, forlorn race."



By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN WOMEN MARKING OUT A DESIGN ON A PIECE OF TAPA.

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II

Samoan Childhood—Adoption of Parents—Age of Betrothal—Marriage Customs—Hawaii—Tahiti—Polygyny—A Tongan Woman on Polygyny—Matrimonial Morals—Widowhood

Photograph by J. W. Waters.
SAMOAN WOMAN
And Chief's Head-dress.

MRS. CHURCHILL thus writes of childhood in Samoa: "This child of savages is born to the best of good treatment within the knowledge of the parents, and is encouraged to feel that father and mother are its willing servants. It is not an uncommon sight to see a small child imposing infantile commands on obedient parents; admonition, correction, and punishment of the young are extremely rare."

Samoan Childhood.

The devotion of Finow, the chief of Tonga, to his little daughter was very touching, and when she was taken ill, his anxiety was very great. She was removed to a sacred enclosure, to be safe from malicious influence, and hogs were offered daily to the god on her behalf, and his intercession implored. "Here thou seest Finow and all his chiefs—(then would follow their names)—thou seest them humbled before thee. We pray thee not to be merciless, but spare the life of this woman* for the sake of her father, who has always been attentive to every religious ceremony."

Perhaps the gods knew that this last statement was not true (for Finow was openly irreligious), since, in spite of the removal of the child from one sacred enclosure to another, and supplications to one god after another, she grew gradually worse, and died.

When the little girls are a few years old they begin to help their mothers in various ways, fetching water, learning to make mats and native cloth, and collecting shellfish. Girls of all ages may usually be seen on the shores at low tide fishing with hand nets, as is seen on p. 36.

Adoption is a common custom. Parents give away their children, especially if they are any trouble, and adopt others indifferently. In Samoa it was the usual custom for a father to give his child to his sister, and she and her husband gave handsome presents in return. Children may also adopt parents, even though their own are still living. The Rev. W. W. Gill calls adoption "the curse of family life." It makes discipline almost impossible. "A cross word will make the youngster run off to its adopted parents, who sympathise where they ought to scold. I have known parents take a present of food to the runaway, and humbly entreat his return; but all in vain!"

Adoption of Parents.

The age for betrothal varies in different islands. As a rule a girl is not betrothed until maturity is reached, at twelve or thirteen, or later, and an unmarried girl is in most of the islands allowed absolute liberty. It was a cause of grievous complaint to the Tongans, used to the easy habits of their island, to find at Fiji that "there was no woman but who was under the protection of a jealous husband." The jealous husband is not typical of Polynesia. When, among people of high rank, infant betrothals were made for political reasons,

Age of Betrothal.

* The child was only about six years old, but the ceremonious word had to be used in addressing the god.

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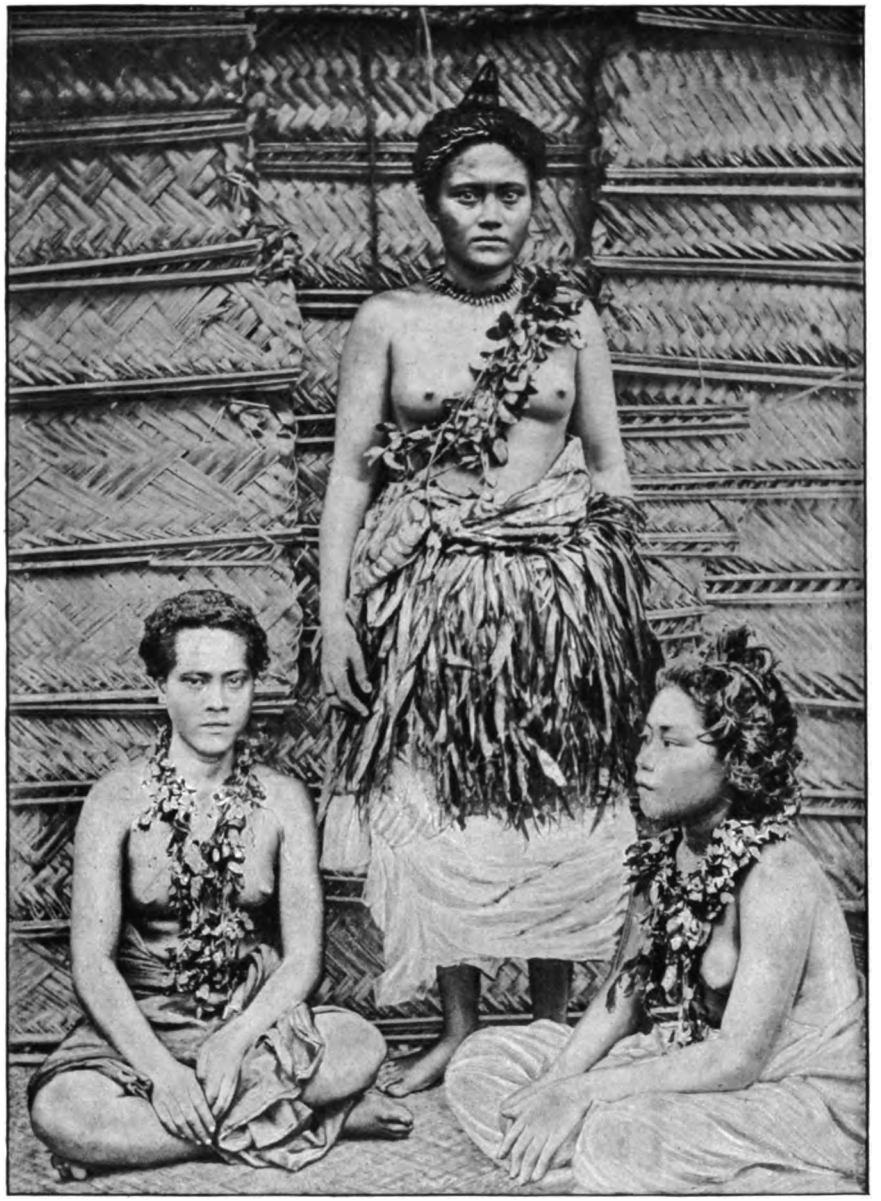

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

SAMOAN GIRLS FROM TUTUILA.
Showing costume and ornaments.

the girl spent all her time within doors on a small platform, in her parents' house, and she was guarded by some member of the family night and day, and never allowed outside the house by herself.

Marriage Customs.

Marriage is not a matter of sale or barter, though, as usual, it is an occasion of much present-giving on both sides, and the suitor often ingratiates himself with the parents of his beloved by means of well-chosen gifts.

Marriages are usually arranged by the parents, especially among the higher classes, and the individuals are passively acquiescent; but among the lower ranks the young man generally chooses for himself, though he selects a friend to act as go-between to conduct negotiations.

Women of rank had the right to make proposals to men of equal or inferior grades, and in Tahiti, if the wife was of superior rank to her husband, she was at liberty to take as many other husbands as she pleased,

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TYPICAL CROSS-LEGGED ATTITUDE OF SAMOANS.

The woman's dress is of native tapa, but is cut in European style.

though still nominally regarded as the wife of the man she married first. The wedding ceremony usually included a feast, in which bride and bridegroom ate together, and a giving of presents by the family of the bride to the bridegroom, and *vice versa*. In Samoa the bride's relations and friends would contribute fine mats and native cloth, which were looked upon as the bridal dowry, and the friends of the bridegroom would give canoes, pigs, or trade goods in return.

But the cost of such a ceremony made it prohibitive for all but wealthy people. Poorer folk dispensed with the display, and merely gave a feast to the relatives and friends on both sides. An elopement was the least expensive form of all, and was frequently resorted to when the consent of the parents was doubtful.

Sometimes the dowry of the bride was attached to her person. Mariner describes a Tongan bride who was decked out with about forty yards of mats of the finest texture, as soft as silk "so that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner, and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half sitting posture, leaning on her female attendants, who were under the necessity of raising her again when she required it." It was usual also to anoint the hands, feet, face and breast of a bride with a mixture of sandalwood oil and turmeric, producing a deep orange tint.

Hawaii. In Hawaii it was generally the parents or friends of the girl who arranged the marriage, and there was practically no wedding ceremony. Sometimes the bridegroom threw a piece of *tapa* or native cloth round the bride, and a feast was spread in honour of the occasion.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

SAMOAN GIRL.

With banana leaf neck wreath.

Tahiti. In Tahiti the sanction of the gods was considered necessary for the marriage contract. A temporary altar was erected in the house of the bride, on which were placed the skulls and bones of her ancestors. The bride and bridegroom, arrayed in wedding garments (which were afterwards considered sacred), stood a few yards apart, and the priest asked the man,

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TONGAN WOMAN.

With necklace of Pandanus nuts.

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"Will you not cast away your wife?" to which he answered "No"; then the bride was asked a similar question, and returned a similar answer. The priest then said to them both, "Happy will it be, if thus with you two." He offered a prayer to the gods in their behalf, imploring for them that they might live in affection, and realise the happiness marriage was designed to secure. Certain ceremonies followed, and the giving of presents. Sometimes the women relatives gashed their faces with shark's teeth, and collecting the blood on a cloth, placed it at the feet of the bride.

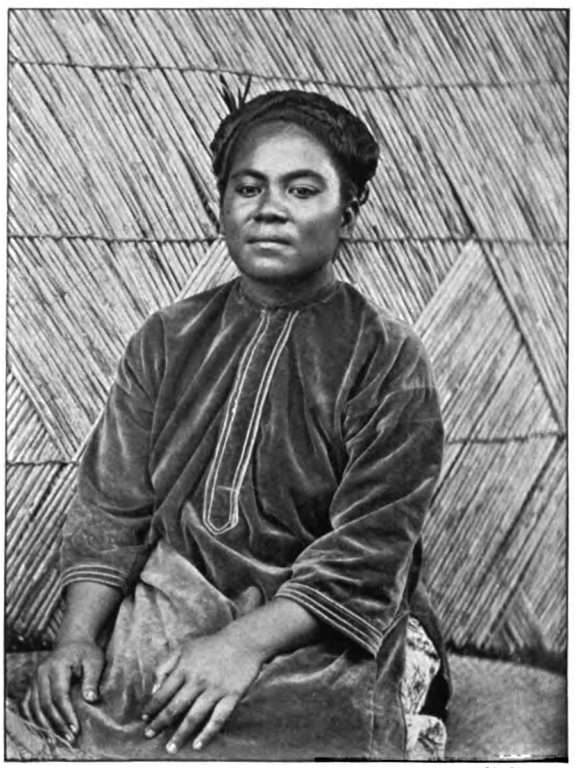
Polygyny.

Polygyny was a universal custom, limited only by the wealth of the husband, and the fact that in most of the islands the men were numerically in excess of the women.

A bride in Samoa was always accompanied by one or two maids of honour, either a daughter of her brother, or a girl of her mother's family, though they did not always become secondary wives. If a man of position married a slave girl, the younger sisters became his as a matter of course, and amongst those of equal rank a man often had two or three sisters to wife at the same time. But the Samoan has always shown a disposition towards monogamy, and, owing to the quarrelling which polygamy engenders, few men retained more than two wives, unless they were great chiefs.

A Tongan tale relates the adventures of Matandua the One-Eyed, who delivered his countrymen from a terrible giant and became King of Tonga, and took Tauki the Merry One, the fairest maiden of the land, to wife, and soon the great house had children rolling upon the mats. Only one wife did he take—her and no other. And when his foster-mother said to him, "You should take more wives, my lord, that you may get your *tapa* cloth made," he only shook his head and smiled. "*Tapa* is good, but peace and quietness are better," quoth he.

In Hawaii plurality of wives gave distinction to the husband, and was enjoyed by such as could afford it, but it was limited by the poverty of the common people, by the equality of the sexes (for the destruction of the female infants compensated for the men killed in war), and by the imperative demand of the common man for a mate.



By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

WOMAN WITH TAPA SKIRT
Which shows beneath the velvet overall.

A Tongan Woman on Polygyny.

It is interesting to hear what the women themselves thought of this question. Mariner gives the naïve opinion of a Tongan girl concerning polygyny: "The custom of having only one wife is a very good one provided that the husband loves her, if not it is a very bad one, because he would tyrannize over her the more; whereas, if his attention was divided between five or six, and he did not behave very kindly towards them, it would be very easy to deceive him."

Matrimonial bonds sat lightly on the Polynesians. Neither husbands nor wives

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felt bound to regard them as binding any longer than suited their inclinations and convenience. But in the west, fidelity was the rule. In Fiji the jealous husband bewrays the Melanesian element. In Tonga, Mariner, during his long stay in the revenge in blood. But, owing to the prevalence of the communal spirit, the husband was satisfied with killing a brother or other relative of the offender, and it was rarely the latter who suffered punishment.

Matrimonial Morals.

In the islands to the east, even before the coming of the whites, society was on the

SAMOAN GIRLS.

Showing costumes and ornaments.

island, before it was known to civilisation, only knew of three successfully planned intrigues, and in each case the man was a chief, and fear may have prevented refusal. This was no doubt partly due to the facility of divorce, which merely consisted in telling a wife she could go, and she was free to marry again at once. In Samoa, though infidelity was common, public opinion sanctioned the injured husband in seeking high road to decay, and civilisation increased its degradation, breaking down ancient restraints, making the people restless and reckless, and teaching them to sell their wives and daughters for gain.

Respect for the wives of other men seems only to be engendered by the personal fear of consequences; even the enlightened Finow, the Tongan chief, acknowledged no higher motive. He confided in Mariner that

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he would like to learn magic, *i.e.*, writing, and for all the women to know it, "that he might make love with less risk of discovery and not so much chance of getting his brains knocked out by their husbands."

Though conjugal love and philoprogenitiveness are not characteristic of the Polynesians, as is shown by the prevalence of infanticide and adoption, and the facility of divorce, yet instances of the most devoted attachment are not rare; and tales of the suicide of despairing lovers, of incorruptible fidelity, and of love triumphant over death, show that the same ideals exist here as elsewhere.

Mariner (whose reports have been called "the Bible of the Friendly Isles") tells of the killing of Nowfaho by command of Finow, and how with his dying breath he sent messages of affection to his wife, and how she, on hearing of his death, seized spear and club to avenge his murder.

Another woman at her husband's death "for six months scarcely ever slept but on his grave, washing it with her tears, and disturbing the silence of the night with her sighs."

Louis Becke records the pathetic romance of the girl of Niué (Savage Island), whose lover died while absent in the guano islands. Her parents wanted her to marry another man, but she preferred to end her troubles and to rejoin her lover by leaping over the cliffs into the sea.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

SAMOAN GIRLS.

When a man died, his brother, whether married or not, would naturally become the husband of his widow and the father of his children. If he did not want her, he might pass her on to a relation or friend. But if there were any unwillingness on her part she could return to her own people.

Widowhood.

Mourning for a husband usually continued for some time, and it was marked in the eastern isles with great barbarity. The

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women, at their marriage, provided themselves with knives, made of five or six shark's teeth, fixed to a small cane, with which to cut themselves on their husband's death. Frightful wounds were often inflicted. Mourning costume consisted in the wearing of an old ragged mat, the more ragged the better; and half-mourning permitted a wrapper of *tapa* to be worn underneath the mat, not so as to be visible, but to save the skin from the painful friction.

Black and white pebbles are collected to decorate the grave. The white pebbles are strewn over the body and the black pebbles above, in an eccentric ellipse, about the length and breadth of a man. Finow's chief widow used to go every morning to his grave, accompanied by her women, and cut the grass short with knives and sharp shells, and sweep away the leaves with brooms of coco-nut stems. The illustration on this page shows a modern Tongan widow in mourning, with cropped hair, wearing an old ragged mat, pouring oil over her husband's grave.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN WIDOW POURING OIL OVER HER HUSBAND'S GRAVE.

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By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN GIRL PLAYING NOSE-FLUTE (*p.* 63).

III

The Position of Women—Racial Influences—Geographical Influences—Sociological Influences—Paumotu—Hawaii—Tonga and Samoa—Kava—Taupou—Society Islands

IN Polynesia, as everywhere else, the position of women is determined by three main factors, racial, geographical, and sociological.

Racial Influences.

First note the racial influences:—De Quatrefages describes the Polynesians as a race whose character has remained childlike while its body has matured. They possess both the happy and the unhappy qualities of childhood, the affection, the naïve credulity, the emotional temperament and love of pleasure in all forms; also ungovernable passions, instinctive aversions, and careless brutality. Their weakness is another childlike character. They lack stamina both physically and psychologically. In spite of their fine appearance their bodily strength is not great, while the small amount of labour they undertake does not produce physical development; and, notwithstanding their state of constant warfare, they cannot be regarded as a virile race. For this the geographical conditions are no doubt partly responsible.

Geographical Influences.

Letourneau points out how the Polynesian islands were both too richly and too poorly endowed to allow man to make much progress. Too rich, because food was abundant and obtained with little labour, and want, that great spur towards progress, did not encourage man to work, either with hands or brain. Too poorly endowed, for the absence of metals set a bar to development of any perfected industry, and the absence of domesticable animals limited the possibilities of advance.

"It was literally an Eden in which men were living, as did Adam and Eve, stupidly, in their earthly Paradise."

But climate and soil and productions are not the same for all. There are the comparatively barren atolls, where there is no fresh water, and only a few coco-nuts will grow, and volcanic islets, where (though

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By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

SISI AND BOAR'S TUSK PENDANT.

the soil is fertile) the surface is covered with lava; and with these may be contrasted the islands of the Society group, of unparalleled fertility of soil and rank luxuriance of vegetation.

Another important geographical factor is isolation. Next to a tropical climate with its consequent inertia, this is perhaps the most serious bar to racial advance. Isolation of larger areas means stagnation; in the small islands of Polynesia it produces degradation.

In those groups, such as Tonga and Samoa, which have been in touch with other islands, a high grade of civilisation has been attained; and Easter Island, 1,100 miles east of Pitcairn (its nearest neighbour), perhaps exhibits in its "degenerate sons of worthy sires" the other end of the scale.

Sociological Influences.

Among the sociological factors may be noted the influence of religion, the institution of *tabu*, the customs of *kava* drinking, the deference accorded to rank, the very slight regard paid to the bonds of matrimony and the licentious tone of society in general. Since all these factors vary to a certain extent throughout Polynesia, so does the status of woman vary. We may note four typical grades.

Paumotu.

Disadvantageous conditions bear most heavily on the weakest members of a community, and the position of women is hardest where Nature is least benign. In some of the islands to the south-east of Polynesia the conditions of life are unfavourable. Paumotu (or Cloud of Islands) consists of innumerable atolls and islets extending over sixteen degrees of longitude. Many of the atolls have an altitude of only three feet, and in severe storms the sea breaks over them, drowning the inhabitants and making radical changes in the geography. Fresh water is everywhere scarce.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

GIRL WEARING A SISI AND BOAR'S TUSK PENDANT.

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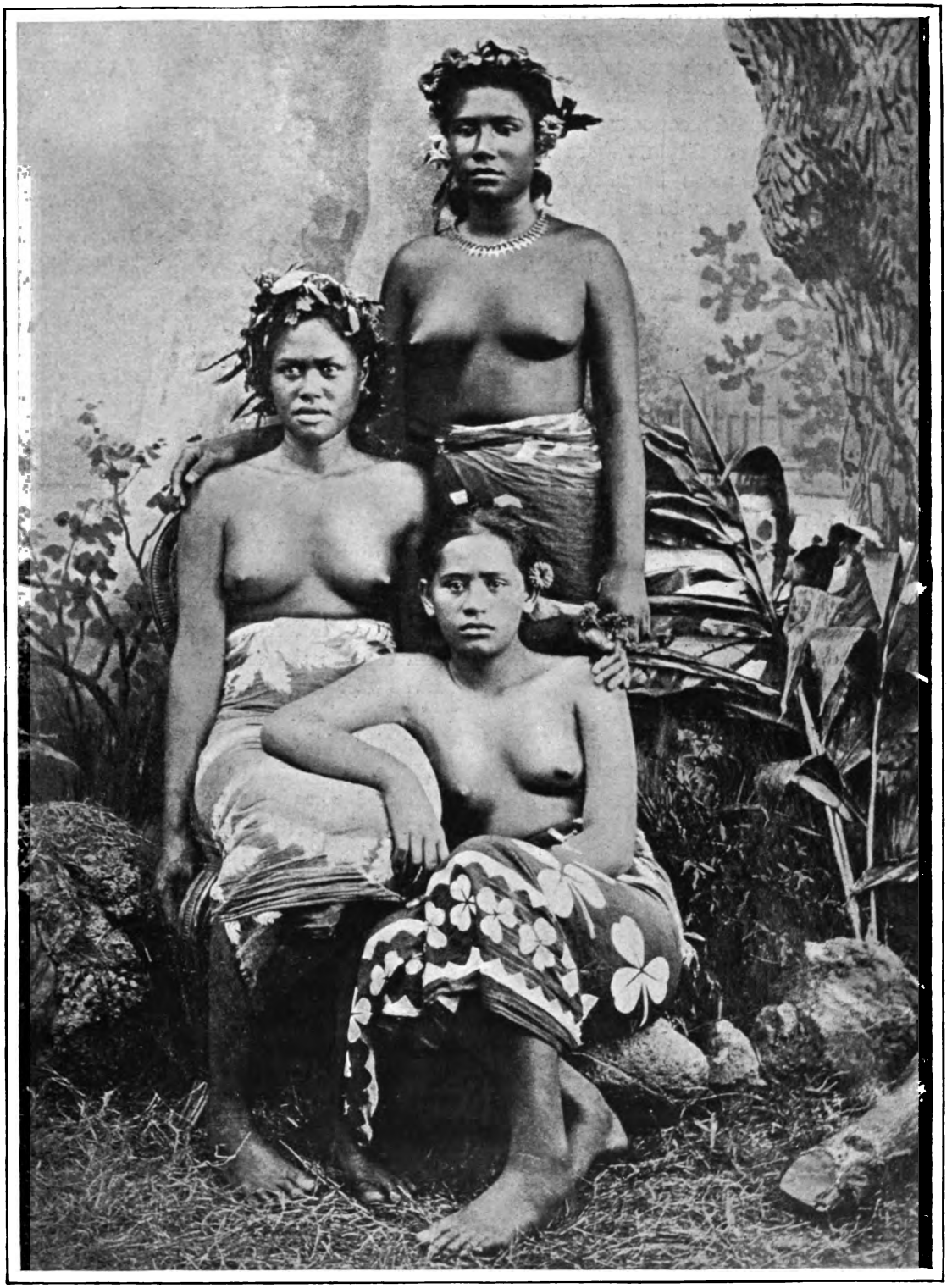

TAHITI GIRLS.

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The soil consists of sand and gravel, washed up by the waves. Coco-nuts and fish are the main resources of the population, but on some islets there are no coco-nuts, and only the *Pandanus* grows. Here are some of the rudest and most savage people of the Pacific, and probably nowhere in the world are women more brutally treated. They work from morning to night to provide food for the men, spending all the time on their knees, pounding *Pandanus* nuts, or on the sharp coral, collecting shell-fish and sea-eggs. Polygyny obtains to an unlimited extent; any man of the community might put away one wife and take another at pleasure, and without ceremony. Captain Beechey noted that the offspring of these unions seemed to be the only objects of the men's affection—certainly they had none for their wives. The women were below the common standard of height, and deficient in personal attractions. Tyrannised over, debased, over-worked, neglected, and strangers to social affection, no wonder that all those qualities which in civilised countries constitute the fascinations of women were wanting. It is a significant fact that the women had no ornaments at all, and that they showed no interest in the beads or trinkets offered them by Captain Beechey.

Next note the influence of geographical conditions on social life in Hawaii. Hawaii consists of a series of islands sufficiently numerous and near together to influence one another decisively, yet far enough apart to make communication difficult. The isolation of the group and the small size of the individual islands tend to develop narrowness of view, energy of inherited habit, persistence of tradition, and conservatism of custom.

Hawaii.

The climate is well described by King Kamehameha IV. in a speech at the opening of the Hawaiian Agricultural Society. "Who ever heard of winter on our shores? Where among us shall we find the numberless drawbacks which in less favoured countries the labourer has to contend with? They have no place in our beautiful group, which rests like a water-lily on the swelling bosom of the Pacific. The heaven is tranquil over our heads, and the sun keeps a jealous eye upon us every day, while the rays are so tempered that they never wither prematurely what they have warmed with life." The equability of the Hawaiian climate is shown in the fact that the language possesses no word for "weather."

The genial climate and abundant sunshine tend to beget a cheerful temper, and the Hawaiians are naturally a merry people. Mrs. Bishop describes the girls at school:—"I never saw such a mirthful-looking set of girls. Some were cooking the dinner, some ironing, others reading English aloud; but each occupation seemed a pastime. I cannot convey a notion of the blitheness and independence of manner of the children (to their teachers); to say that they were free and easy would be wrong; it was rather the manner of frolicsome daughters to very indulgent mothers or aunts." This reflects a different aspect of school-life from that in the early "female seminary" at Wailuku, where many girls fell sick, and not a few died. It is pathetic to hear the complaint of the grave New England teacher: "It seems impossible to restrain them from rude and romping behaviour, and confine them to those exercises deemed more proper for females, without serious injury to their health."

Where all seems favourable to man, one might expect Utopia, but Nature in Hawaii spoils her children. Tropical conditions are only favourable to social evolution up to a certain point, beyond this they become a hindrance by removing all spur to further advance. Flowers, music, ease, enough to eat, these constitute the Hawaiian essentials of life, and but little attention is paid to what, in more exacting zones, is called duty.

A tropical climate also tempts people to live mainly out of doors, and, by diminishing the importance of the house and home, tends to sacrifice the interests of the family to those of the community. The communal system thus evolved has the inevitable effect of removing all stimulus to exertion,

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and paralysing all individual effort. To work more is to be the more pillaged, to save is impossible.

Blackman, in "The Making of Hawaii," after reviewing the various influences affecting social life in Hawaii, says: "We should expect to find woman occupying a middle position, and so we do." On the one hand the descent of rank through females gave women a place of importance, and often elevated them to the topmost station in society, and as queen or regent they might exercise absolutely unlimited power. On the other hand they were hemmed in by conventions, restricted by *tabu*, and deprived of their liberty, merely on account of their sex.

Women were not allowed to eat with men; wives could not eat with their husbands, neither could their food be cooked in the same oven, and the highest lady in the land might not eat with the humblest man. Certain foods were forbidden them, they were not allowed to eat of pork, bananas, coco-nuts, turtle, or certain kinds of fish. Rank had no privilege.

When Kapiolani was a girl she resolved to eat a banana in defiance of the *tabu*, but her crime was discovered, and she was condemned to degradation of rank, perpetual poverty, and celibacy. The ban was, however, removed by the expiatory sacrifice of a young boy.

Photograph by C. C. Pierce.

HAWAIIAN DANCERS.

Although hedged in by oppressive prohibitions imposed by religion the consolations of religious worship were denied. The women were excluded from the *heiau* or temples (which dotted the settled parts so thickly that from the walls of one the next could clearly be seen), as their presence was thought to defile the sacred sites; neither could they, for the same reason, enter two of the six houses which formed the Hawaiian establishment, the house for the family gods, and the men's eating house.

At birth a girl was more unwelcome than a boy, and was less likely to be allowed to live; as a wife the woman was absolutely

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in the power of her husband, who could divorce her at will. The whole duty of women consisted in ministering slavishly to the pleasures of the dominant sex.

Woman reaches her highest social position in Tonga and Samoa.

Tonga and Samoa.

Samoa possesses all the advantages of climate and soil characteristic of Polynesia. It is healthy, and the means of subsistence are perhaps more easily obtained here than in any other part of the world. It is not subject to the disadvantages of isolation, which retard progress in other groups, and contact with neighbouring peoples has prevented stagnation. The fine harbours and safety of navigation in the sheltered waters developed the migratory impulse, leading to that widening of ideas which is essential to social advance. Though the Samoans now confine their voyaging within their own group, the number of colonies claiming Samoan descent which sprinkle the Pacific shows that this was not always the case, and tales recount intercommunication with Tonga and Fiji. A strong government had established law and order long before the coming of the whites, as is shown by the homogeneity of custom and language throughout the group, and the punctilious attention to etiquette and ceremony are characteristic of a high grade of culture. In habits of cleanliness and decency the Samoans are more advanced than the most fastidious of civilised nations. Their public meetings and discussions are carried on with a dignity and forbearance which Europeans never equal, and even in the heat of war they have shown themselves amenable to the influence of reason and religion.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

A TONGAN MOTHER AND CHILD.

Tonga does not possess all the natural advantages of Samoa; it lacks the fine harbours, and it is surrounded by dangerous reefs, but this has not daunted the development of a fine race of boat-builders and sailors. The climate also is less healthy, and the land is in parts absolutely barren, as the result of recent lava flows. But the inhabitants have an advantage over the Samoans in another direction, for they appear to be a more mixed people, and to blend the culture of the Polynesians with the greater intelligence and vigour of the Melanesians. The less attractive character of their climate and soil has probably been a blessing in disguise; it has had the twofold result of encouraging native energy, and of discouraging too great an intrusion of whites, and the Tongans surpass all the other South Sea islanders in mental development.

Women are the gainers by this advance. They have considerable regard paid them on account of their sex, independently of their rank. As Mariner quaintly phrases it: "They are considered to contribute much to the comfort and domestic happiness of the other sex, and as they are the weaker of the two, it is thought unmanly not to show them an attention and kind regard. They are therefore not subjected to hard labour or any menial work. The men work, and the women do chiefly those offices

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which are requisite for domestic comfort and for the promotion of health and cleanliness."

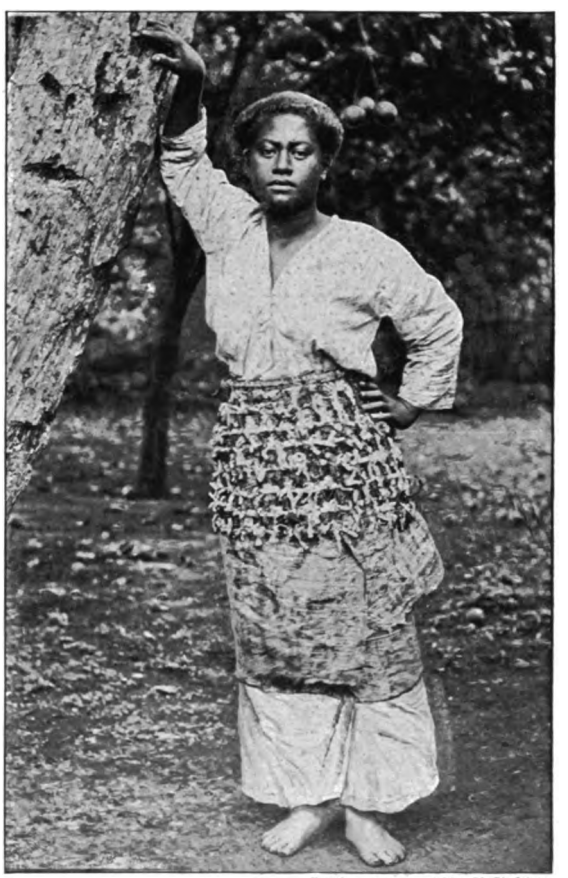
Instead of women being shut out from the sacred rites which their presence would defile, we read of the "extremely religious and universally respected Foonagi," whose knowledge of all religious matters was so accurate that chiefs used to come to consult her on such topics, and her advice on political matters was also prized. Women often went to battle with their husbands, mainly to be of assistance if they were wounded, but if taken prisoners were well treated. Stevenson noted in Samoa how the women were respected in war: "They are suffered to pass between the hostile camps, exchanging gossip, spreading rumours, and divulging to either army the secret councils of the other." The Tongan women were not deficient in valour. Mariner records the impassioned speech of a woman of Vavau who, when the people were discussing the proposal to throw off the yoke of Finow in revenge of his murder of their chief, rushed into the assembly, demanding why they hesitated when honour pointed out the only course to pursue, "but if men are turned women, the women shall turn men, and revenge the death of the murdered chief; let then the men stand idly looking on, and when we women are sacrificed in the glorious cause, our example may perhaps excite them to fight and die in the same spirited endeavour to support and defend their rights."

Music and Dancing in Tonga.

The Polynesian love of pleasure manifests itself most characteristically in a devotion to dances, accompanied by songs and musical instruments, which play an important part in social life. But these are less conspicuous in Tonga than in Samoa, from whence a great number of the Tongan dances derive their origin, and the indigenous Tongan *oóla* was only danced by men. Among Tongan musical instruments is one of special interest, since it seems in certain islands to be played only by women, and also to indicate a culture drift from Asia to Polynesia. This is the nose-flute which occurs in various islands from Tahiti to Fiji and New Zealand, and which is illustrated, as played by a Tongan girl, on p. 57. It is usually made of bamboo, with three or more stops, and it is blown by one nostril, while the other is closed by the thumb. Professor Tylor suggests that the origin of this custom may be traced to India, where a high-caste Hindu will not touch with his mouth a pipe or flute which has touched the mouth of a lower-caste man who made it or may have used it, but it does not defile him to blow it with his nostril.

The Samoan Housewife.

The position of woman among the Samoans is, when all things are considered, not only satisfactory but enviable. The Samoan housewife is by no means the drudge and beast of burden which women in other rude communities are; she has a voice in affairs. In matters concerning the family well-being



By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN GIRL.
With hair cut and stiffened in Fijian style.

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she is consulted; she has the right to advise and vote on terms as free as those allowed to her brother. She may rise to a position of dignity and authority in the community. She may be chosen its *taupou* (or maid of the village), and as such is as much a part of the system of government as is the chief; honours are her official portion. She is sought in marriage by the great, her nuptials cement alliances. The first of Samoans to attain supreme authority, to become possessed of all four royal names, was Salamasina, a woman.

Such are the chances of the woman in public life. Her domestic cares are summed up in the duty of the housewife. Hers the task to wade the lagoon for the smaller fish, to weave the mats, to beat the bark into cloth, to cook, to manage the affairs of the home. These tasks are not burdensome, and there is no idea of menial occupation. With all her dignities and honours the *taupou* may be seen on her knees pulling up the weeds in the pavement before the guest house where she exercises the rites of hospitality, and the wife of the chief of highest rank hunts for sea-urchins by the side of the wife of the meanest commoner.

The Samoan family rises at dawn, and the first duty of the housewife is to tidy the house by rolling up the mats and putting away the wooden pillows, which serve not only as head rests and to preserve an elaborate coiffure from disarrangement, but also to tether each sleeper to his or her proper place on the common mat. After the morning bath and breakfast she spends an hour or so weeding in front of the house, interspersed with gossiping. During the day she is employed in various ways, fetching water, making mats, or in the proper season beating out the bark for cloth, and, if the tide is low, searching the lagoon and reef with the other women of the village for shell-fish and sea-slugs. Or her wardrobe may require replenishing, and she will sit down to make a new *lavalava*, or a *faloka* ("Mother Hubbard" frock). Or her deft fingers may contrive a hat of native materials, which she will wear "with the gaudy humility of the converted soul," when next she goes to church, for that is the conventional sign of the woman who has got religion and joined the church. In certain seasons men and women spend from early morning to perhaps midday in the yam or taro patches or banana plantations, but this only occupies a few days in the year. All this with visiting and receiving of visits together with a good amount of solid sleeping, and the preparation of the evening meal, finishes the day.

Kava.

No account of social life in Samoa is complete without a description of its central features, *kava* and the *taupou*. *Kava* (or *'ava* as the Samoans call it) is the necessary part of every ceremony, no festival is complete without it, no war may be fought or even determined on if the *kava* has not been rightly served, and the beginnings of peace are in the *kava* bowl. A visitor must always carry with him his three pieces to present to his host, who, in his turn, never fails to present *kava* to his guest.

The drink is made of the roots of the *Piper methysticum*, and in old days it was "masticated by the pearly teeth of flower-clad maidens," but this practice has been stopped by the missionaries, and is now only to be found in out-of-the-way parts. Near Apia the *kava* pounding stones form prominent items in domestic furniture, as in the illustration on p. 66. At a ceremonial *kava*-drinking the root, reduced to a coarse powder and a mass of fibre, is placed in the large bowl, or *tanoa*, carved out of a solid piece of hard wood, and the *taupou* (the girl chosen to act as official hostess of the village) proceeds to the mixing of the beverage with the addition of water. This is stirred and squeezed and then strained with a bunch of *Hibiscus* fibres, and the grace with which the wet mop of fibres is whirled round her head is one of the accomplishments of the *taupou*. When the *kava* is ready the master of the ceremonies begins his task, which is to call out the names of those to whom the drink is to be served in turn, and any slight mistake

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WOMEN OF RENNELL ISLAND (POLYNESIA).
DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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in the order, or in the complicated forms of address or other intricacies of etiquette, might entail grave consequences. As each name is called, the *taupou* fills the coco-nut cup by dipping the bunch of fibres into the bowl and squeezing it into the cup, held by her attendant, who carries it to each recipient. And so on, with each episode thickly overlaid with ceremonial, until all have partaken. *Kava* has been described as a perfect outrage to a critical eye, a turbid, yellowish-green liquid, with a dull earthy odour, a taste of soapsuds with a curious twang of ginger, leaving a not unpleasant sense of smoothness in the mouth. It seems to fail in sedative, stimulating, or intoxicating qualities, though some claim for it the virtues of a tonic. Large quantities of fresh *kava* taken in excess produce partial paralysis of the lower limbs.

The social influence can perhaps scarcely be over-estimated, and it has contributed not a little to the better qualities of Samoan social life. As a means of promoting peaceful relations, and cementing friendships between one tribe or one village and another, as an opportunity for friendly contact with neighbours and with strangers, as a ceremony in which both sexes had definite responsibilities, and played their parts with dignity, and as a national recreation accompanied by none of the common abuses of wasteful extravagance, intoxication, sexual licence, quarrelling or other relics of barbarism, *kava* drinking has no superior in the Pacific.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

TONGAN DANCE.

As has been seen throughout these pages the institution of the *taupou* or official maid of the village is a prominent feature in Samoa. Each village elects a girl, who must be the daughter of a chief, or occasionally certain great chiefs have the right of appointing some girl of high birth. The *taupou* has a large house provided for her in the village, and has control of all the women and girls in it. Here she resides more or less, with her court of young girls, and she never goes anywhere unless accompanied by an elderly woman. No man

The Taupou.

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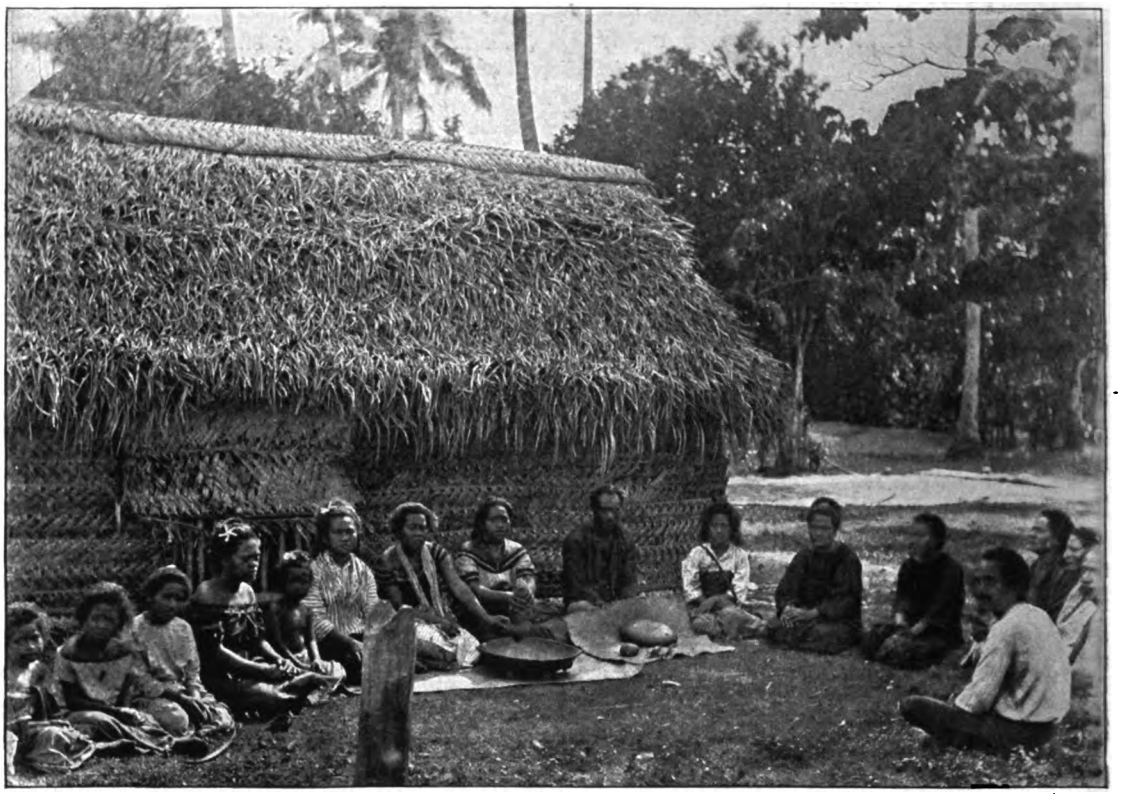
belonging to the village is allowed to enter the house.

In all the village festivities, and especially when visits are exchanged between villages, the *taupou* and her court play an important part. One of her chief duties is to receive strangers, to entertain them, and to make the *kava* without which no Samoan ceremony is complete. If a visit is paid to a neighbouring village, the orator heads the procession of girls, calling out the name and rank and titles of the official maid.

The *taupou* herself is a sort of village property, and a model of virtue to all the other girls. It is her duty to attract courting parties from other villages, with their many presents. Eventually she will be married to some young chief who presents so many hundred pigs, which are divided amongst the village, and in return her friends contribute so many hundred fine mats for the relations of the bridegroom. Dancing is one of the duties of the *taupou*. She is instructed in all the poses of the dance by her duenna; her scanty wardrobe is largely made up of material which shall adorn her for the dance, and the court of attendant girls are carefully trained to accompany her in the *siva*. She is not a soloist in these performances, for there is no distribution of parts, but she is the central figure of the group, and the leader of the concerted movements of the party. Her dancing is one of the things about which her village boasts in order to attract suitors, the poets of the village write verses about it, and sing them as they travel by canoe in front of other villages.



By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister.

KAVA PARTY, TONGA.
With stones for pounding the root.

The *siva* is a dance of the upper body, which is danced sitting, and the feet and legs move only slightly to keep time. The number of possible motions of the body and arms is limited only by the flexibility of the muscles of the dancers and their ideas of what is graceful. A backward curve of the outstretched hand, such as is attained by

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By the courtesy of Mr. J. J. Lister

SAMOAN DANCE, THE SIVA

The dancers sit: all the movements are made with the upper part of the body.

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the dancer on the left of the picture on p. 47, is very much admired.

Society Islands.

A description of social life in Tahiti demonstrates how much mankind owes to Eve, and that it is not good for man to live in the Garden of Eden. All travellers agree in praising the island as a veritable paradise, in which a healthy and delightful climate brings to maturity all the products of the tropics, which are nowhere to be found in greater luxuriance and perfection. The men suit well with the landscape, for they represent the most beautiful type of Polynesian, but it is noticeable that the gentle Hawaiians are called manly in comparison.

Indolence and sensuality are the curse of the inhabitants. "Why should we work?" they said to Captain Beechey. "Have we not as much breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas, etc., as we can eat? It is very good for you to work who want fine clothes or fine ships, but we are content with what we possess."

The clubs or secret societies of the men are often found to reflect the dominant interests of the community, and it is significant that the objective of the most important society of the group, the Areois, was indulgence in sexual excesses.

When women are valued merely for the sake of their sexual attractions, their position is not likely to be one of dignity, though their lives may be free from hardship; and in the eyes of a moralist the Tahitian women exemplify the lowest stage of degradation to which Polynesian women could sink. This is where civilisation found them, and it is doubtful if it has brought them much benefit. The prevention of war, and a perhaps injudicious prohibition of all forms of native entertainment, have quenched the only outlets for Tahitian energy, and idleness and sensual indulgence are the only means of recreation. The men have lost much of their cheerfulness,

Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

SAMOAN TAUPOU, OR CHIEF GIRLS.

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and the women much of their beauty, while manners and morals remain much the same.

Under these circumstances the race is doomed. The birthrate is low, sterility is common, and epidemics and intemperance have slain their thousands. As a native proverb says, "The coral waxes, the palm grows, and man departs." Too often the native races may be likened, in the words of Stevenson, to "a shopful of crockery, launched upon the stream of time, that now fall to make their desperate voyage among pots of brass and adamant."

A TAHITIAN GIRL.

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NEW ZEALAND

By T. ATHOL JOYCE

New Zealand and the Polynesians—Points of Resemblance and Difference between the Maori and Polynesians—Position of Maori Women—"Tapu"—Birth and Childhood—Tattoo—The Sacred Art of Weaving—Dress—Ornaments—"Tiki"—Daily Life—Food—Methods of Preserving and Cooking—A Maori "Party"—Dances—Cannibalism—Woman in War—Marriage Customs—The story of Tutanekai and Hinemoa

THE natives of New Zealand, or Maori, have been—at any rate as far as historical times are concerned—Polynesians; and though they have very much in common with the inhabitants of the islands to the north-west, their culture, nevertheless, exhibits such important peculiarities that they demand a chapter to themselves.

New Zealand and the Polynesians.

The date at which the first representatives of the Polynesian race arrived in the islands cannot, of course, be determined with accuracy; but one authority, drawing his arguments from a mass of tribal tradition and history collected in all parts of the Pacific, believes it to have been about 850 A.D. At any rate, it is comparatively certain that during the years 1250-1325, New Zealand was frequently visited by Polynesians, and that about 1350 took place the most extensive colonising movement that had yet been made. This was the arrival of a large fleet of canoes, the names of which have been preserved in tradition, and of which the occupants may be regarded, for all practical purposes, as the founders of the Maori nation. From that date until the arrival of the European the settlers lived in complete isolation, holding no communication with the rest of Polynesia.

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

MAORI GIRL.

Seated by the central pillar of the verandah of a house.

The Maori, speaking generally, very closely resembled the other Polynesians, yet there was considerable variation of type amongst them, and the hair showed a tendency to curliness (*see* p. 71); they were also more finely built and more muscular, probably as the result of lives spent under more strenuous conditions. Their psychological qualities were developed in a similar direction. Descended from those who must have been the hardiest and most adventurous of the Polynesian race, living in a temperate climate under circumstances which required them to build more substantial houses, and to expend greater labour in cultivation than their relations further north, they naturally surpassed the latter in initiative and native energy. Moreover, the glorification of war as the noblest of occupations, as something to be sought for its own sake, fostered the military spirit and rendered them fierce and, at times, cruel and bloodthirsty. Family and racial pride was a marked characteristic

Points of resemblance and difference between the Maori and Polynesians.

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Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

MAORI WOMEN AND GIRLS.

On the verandah of a house. The group shows the variation in type of hair.

of the aristocracy, but it was often accompanied by a certain nobility of character which would be praiseworthy in peoples at the highest stage of civilisation.

The Maori of To-day.

It will be noticed that in speaking of these people the past tense has been employed; this is because the march of civilisation, which has proved less fatal to the Maori than the rest of the Polynesians, has practically destroyed all their ancient customs. Indeed, families of pure race are rare, most have at least a slight strain of white blood in their veins. Their old industries have practically vanished, and even their dances have greatly deteriorated. Still, they have a stake in the fortunes of the country, in-so-far as they send members to Parliament. The women, however, unlike their white sisters, have not been admitted to the suffrage.

The position of the Maori woman in the tribe was unusually high for a primitive people, and her influence was correspondingly great. The women took an active part in all the business of life, sharing in the work and the amusements of the men, assisting in the defence of their fortified villages, and accompanying war-parties on expeditions. Moreover, their advice was sought on all matters, public as well as domestic; in fact, it was by no means reckoned extraordinary for a woman to take part in the deliberations of the war-council. Women of high rank were particularly important, since they brought both position and wealth to their husbands. In default of a male successor, a woman could become chief, transmitting the dignity to her children.

Position of Maori Women.

Maori women were very affectionate as sisters, wives and mothers, and suicide upon the death of a husband or brother was a very common occurrence in the old days. But they were also passionate and jealous; and it is to be feared that they were often cruel in their treatment of their

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slaves for this reason: cases have even been known where a woman has killed her baby to spite her husband.

Before passing to a consideration of woman's life in detail, a few words must

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.
TYPICAL MAORI WOMAN.

be said about an institution which played a most important part in Maori life in general—the institution called *tapu*. To say that persons, objects, or places were *tapu* means that they were sacred, but with a peculiar and dangerous form of sanctity; they became under certain conditions charged with holiness as with electricity, which was communicated to any person who touched them, and either rendered him equally *tapu*, or even—in the case of persons of lower rank—killed him outright. In this way the high chiefs were always *tapu*, and for a common man to touch any of their possessions spelt death. So firmly fixed was this belief that cases are known where individuals who had unwittingly used some utensil belonging to a chief died of sheer fright when their mistake became known to them. Everything connected with death was invested with a very strong form of *tapu*, and those who had taken part in a funeral were isolated until the *tapu* was removed by a priest.

"Tapu."

Priests and chiefs could lay the *tapu* on persons, objects and places; thus *tapu* became a most useful administrative weapon. For instance, all crops were *tapu* until they were ripe, when the *tapu* was removed and they could be reaped; individuals engaged in a particular piece of work, whether connected with agriculture, hunting or fishing, were made *tapu* so that they could neither leave the place nor engage in any other occupation until it was finished. Persons under *tapu* were usually fed by someone who was not, or had to pick their food off the ground with their mouths; they dare not touch it with their hands lest the *tapu* become communicated to the food, and the latter prove fatal to them.

It is impossible to follow the ramifications of this interesting belief into all the departments of life in which it was active; enough has been said to give a general idea of its character and to show the important place it held in the Maori world.

To return to the Maori woman. As a baby, her advent into the world was not always regarded as a subject for rejoicing; as among so many primitive peoples, and others also, the parents were usually disappointed because she was not a boy. In fact, under certain circumstances, a girl was not considered worth rearing, and the unhappy infant was not permitted to live. If she were spared, she was dipped in the sacred stream outside the village by the priest; this ceremony rendered the mother and child *tapu*, and they were isolated for a few days in a special hut, called by the poetic name of "nest-house." Then a similar ceremony, accompanied by invocations, were necessary to remove the *tapu*. Later a third "baptism" was performed, at which the baby received her name.

Birth and Childhood among the Maori.

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As a child and young girl her lot was usually a happy one; she was treated with affection and kindness and even "spoiled" by her parents, and spent much of her time in playing various games with her companions, boys and girls together. Some of these amusements bore a close resemblance to games well-known in Europe; for instance, peg-tops, cats-cradle, giant-stride, skipping, stilts, hide-and-seek, and a kind of "up Jenkins." There was also a game played with the fingers, resembling somewhat the Italian game of *mora;* it was played by two persons, and the object was to hold up certain fingers on the pronunciation of certain words by the opponent. Another game, called *poi*, was played with balls attached to strings, the players were seated, and various evolutions were performed to the accompaniment of singing. In fact, many games were played to an appropriate song; and one of these is quoted by Taylor,* the well-known writer, in his description of a game called *puni-puni*, "a game played with the fingers whilst the following words are sung:—

'By the great water,
'By the long water,
'The sea-gull and the penguin cry,
'Where is the entering,
'Where is the closing,
'For the resting.'

If the fingers enter each other whilst these words are being uttered, the game is ended; if not, it is again repeated."

But more serious considerations enter early into the life of a New Zealand girl; if she belongs to a family of high position, she must be tattooed; and since

Tattoo.

tatooing is an important ceremony, and performed in a peculiar manner in this country, it deserves a special paragraph to itself. In the rest of Polynesia, as in other countries inhabited by a comparatively fair-skinned people, a number of small punctures were made in the skin and the colouring matter rubbed in; but in New Zealand the process was far more

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

A CHIEF AND HIS WIFE.
The latter being of the curly-haired type.

* *Te Ika a Maui.*

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painful: regular grooves were cut by means of an instrument pointed with bone and shaped like a diminutive adze, which was struck with a small mallet. The blood flowed freely, and was wiped off with a

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin

TYPICAL MAORI WOMAN OF HIGH RANK.
Showing tattoo on chin. Note the feathers in the hair.

tuft of flax, the pattern being indicated by dark lines drawn on the skin. After this the dark pigment, in the form of powder, was applied. Girls were tattooed on the lips and chin, as shown in the above illustration, and occasionally on the thighs and breast also. Though the process was far less severe in their case than in that of the men, the operation was productive of a great deal of suffering and inflammation. The subject was regarded as under a heavy *tapu*, and the work was accompanied by numerous incantations; in the case of the daughter of an important chief, a slave was sometimes sacrificed. The pattern of the tattoo was traditional and the various lines were cut in a definite order, each group being known by a particular name.

The Sacred Art of Weaving.

The education of the girl was left mainly in the hands of her mother, but there was one occupation which partook of a sacred nature, regarding which special arrangements were made. This was the manufacture of the various mats which formed the principal clothing of men and women alike. In New Zealand, says Hamilton,* "The Maori found provided a plant which served him almost as well as the *aute* and palms of his fatherland. In his ingenious and industrious hands it clothed him with mats and garments of bewildering variety, and so entered into his daily life that one of the early Maori visitors to England, when he found that the New Zealand flax did not grow there, wondered how it was possible to live in a land so unfortunate. From the records of voyagers and from native traditions we know that, even in the long ago, the fibre of the *phormium* (*harakeke*) was skilfully prepared and manufactured into all sorts of articles. For the mats of people of rank specially selected varieties were cultivated and prepared with infinite labour, until the resulting fibre was as soft and lustrous as silk."

Though men were occasionally trained in the complicated rules of weaving, the latter was essentially the work of the women, and, as such, a short description is necessary. Selected leaves of the plant were cut with a shell in winter, and carried home from the plantation to be scraped until only the fibre remained. Only a portion of the leaf was used, and the implement employed was a mussel-shell. The resultant fibre was alternately soaked in running water and scraped again and again until it was quite clean, when it was hung up to dry and bleach. "The observant and discriminating powers of the old Maori," writes Hamilton,† "are well shown when one examines the long list of some fifty or sixty kinds of flax known to them, and notices that the various qualities and strengths were all recognised and allotted to suitable and specific purposes." The fibres were beaten with mallets, and if a coloured pattern, such as frequently

* "Maori Art." † *Loc. cit.*

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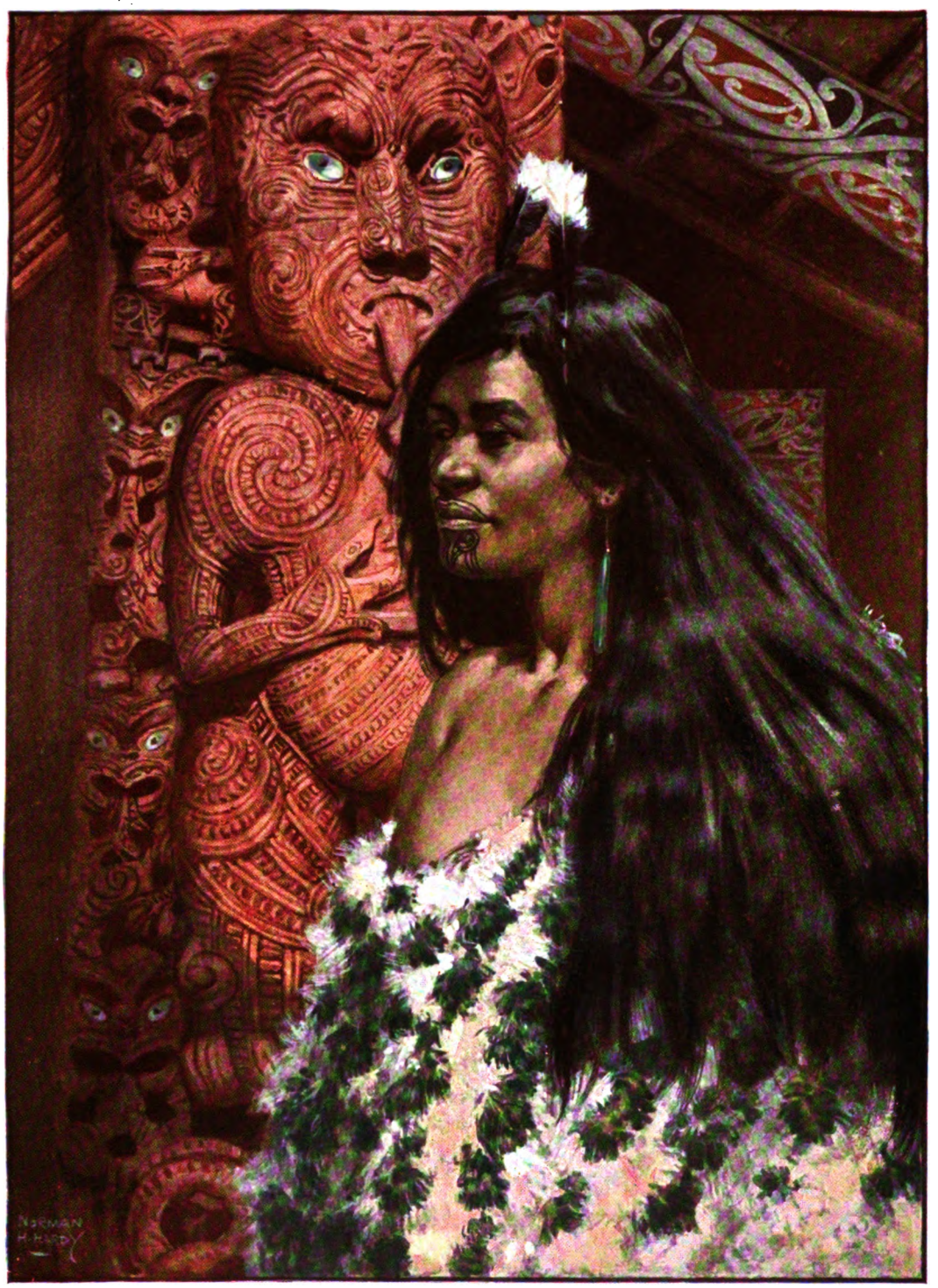

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MAORI GIRL: NEW ZEALAND.
DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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appears on the borders of mats, was desired, were stained red or yellow by means of different varieties of bark, or black by means of bark followed by immersion in a particular kind of mud. The fibres were formed into thread by being rolled with the hand on the thigh, and sometimes two threads were twisted together to form a two-ply cord. The material was then ready for weaving.

Instruction in weaving was, as has been said, of a sacred nature, and the services of the priest were in requisition to pronounce the necessary incantations, by means of which the mind of the pupil was supposed to become especially receptive. The sacred nature attaching to the occupation was never subsequently forgotten, and many were the rules which the operator had to observe under penalty of supernatural punishment. The apparatus was of the simplest: two sticks supported the threads which formed the warp, and the weft was manipulated by the hand alone. The process resembled plaiting rather than weaving proper, the cloth being of the variety known as "tied-cloth." The feathers of the Kiwi were often incorporated in the work, and, at a later date, those of fowls, the latter arranged so as to form patterns; or strips of dog-skin with the hair attached might be fastened along the exterior surface, or flax-stems to form a kind of thatch (*see* on the right of illustration, p. 79).

Maori Dress.

From the question of weaving we pass naturally to that of dress, which consisted almost invariably of two of these mats, one fastened round the waist, and the other round the neck to form a sort of cloak, which could be quickly discarded if the wearer wished to engage in any work. Practically the only difference between the dress of men and women lay in the fact that in the case of the former this upper mat was fastened on the right shoulder; in the case of the latter on the left (*see* p. 71). Children dispensed with clothing altogether until about eight years of age.

The hair of women was left to grow long (p. 72), though girls used to cut the locks on the forehead in a fringe level with the eyebrows (*see* p. 71); those of high rank often wore two of the tail feathers of the *Huia* bird in their dusky tresses. Such feathers were greatly prized, and were kept stored in finely-carved wooden caskets, of which specimens can be seen in most museums.

Ornaments.

The ears were pierced, and a great variety of ornaments worn in them, of which the most valued were those of jade (*see* p. 72), owing to the enormous time and labour expended in the preparation of a single specimen. Jade is one of the hardest stones known, and it must be remembered that the Maori possessed no metals until the arrival of the Europeans.

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

NATIVE FOOD STORE.

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Other objects so worn were the down of the albatross and gannet, the wings of smaller birds, sharks' teeth, flowers, and the teeth of husbands or valued friends or relations.

"Tiki."

Perhaps the ornament most characteristic of the Maori is the jade pendant known as *Tiki*, which was worn round the neck. These *Tiki* were grotesque human figures of a prescribed and somewhat conventional pattern, and were beautifully worked and polished (*see* p. 79). Each one of them must have taken literally years of patient toil to produce.

They were regarded as heirlooms, and were passed from father to son, and the sentimental value attached to them was enormous; though usually worn by men, they were frequently seen on the necks of females, especially heiresses or those of chiefly rank. The *Tiki* was suspended round the neck by a cord of woven flax, fastened at the back by a toggle of bone, either human or taken from the Moa, the gigantic ground-bird, somewhat resembling an ostrich, which has been extinct for many years. *Tiki* were occasionally made from part of the human skull, but examples are very rare.

Maori Daily Life.

As regards the general routine of daily work in times of peace, a passage from Maning* is well worth quotation: "In the morning, but not early, they descended from the hill *pa* (fort) to the cultivations in the low ground; they went in a body, armed like men going to a battle, the spear or club in one hand, the agricultural implement in the other; the women followed. Long before night (it was counted unlucky to work till dark) they returned to the hill, with a reversed order, the women now and slaves and lads bearing fuel and water for the night in front; they also bore, probably, heavy loads of *kumera* or other provisions. In the time of year when the crops did not call for their attention, when they were planted and growing, then the whole tribe would remove to some fortified hill, at the side of some river, or on the coast, where they would pass months fishing, making nets, clubs, spears, and implements of various descriptions; the women in all spare time making mats for clothing, or baskets to carry the crop of *kumera* in, when fit to dig. There was very little idleness, and to be called 'lazy' was a great reproach."

* "Old New Zealand."

Food of the Maori.

The preparation of food was regarded as almost essentially woman's work, and this subject might be extended to fill a whole volume by itself. The food of the Maori was mainly fish and vegetables; meat was a great dainty, but, beside the dog, the largest mammal found on the island in the early days was the rat. Later, after the introduction of the pig and goat by Captain Cook, the former was considered an especial delicacy. Most birds were eaten, the few that were spared being supposed to contain the souls of deceased ancestors; in fact, the extermination of the Moa is due to the ardour with which it was hunted by the natives. Practically all fish were eaten, and the large eels with which the country abounds were regarded with especial favour. Of vegetable foods, which are too numerous to mention in detail, one of the most important was the root of the edible fern. This was only eaten fresh in times of scarcity, and was usually stored in shelters above ground for a year. Before cooking, it was steeped in water and dried in the sun, then roasted on the embers, scraped with a shell and pounded with a mallet of stone or wood to loosen the fibres; in some cases the fibres were removed after pounding. Sweet potatoes also formed an important article of diet, and there is a long list of berries and other fruits which were prepared in various ways. So accustomed had the Maori become to regard the root of a plant as the edible part, that, according to Bishop Marsden, when corn was introduced, the natives became impatient of waiting for the crop, and tore up the green stalks in the expectation of finding the produce at the roots.

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Cooking was usually performed by means of steam, in the manner general throughout Polynesia and illustrated on this page. A circular hole was dug, in which a wood fire was kindled, stones were thrown on, which, by the time the fire had died down, had become red-hot. They were then removed, and the embers scraped out. Then the stones, still glowing, were replaced, covered with leaves, and water sprinkled over them; on these the food was placed, meat or eels being wrapped in leaves to keep in the gravy; a layer of leaves plentifully sprinkled with water followed, then another of mats or old baskets; finally earth was piled on the top to prevent the steam from escaping. There were two meals in the day, except in times of plenty: one in the morning, the other just before sunset.

During the time the food was cooking, which rarely exceeded an hour, the women plaited baskets of green flax or leaves in which to serve the food. Chiefs had each a separate basket, but usually there was one to every four or five individuals. They eat in silence and rapidly, the women apart from the men, and slaves apart from their masters. If there were guests, they formed a separate group, since it was not etiquette for their hosts to eat with them. Fingers were the only implements, and the question of table-napkins was solved in a very simple

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

THE MAORI METHOD OF COOKING.

The food, wrapped in leaves, was placed on stones previously heated.

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manner—the back of the nearest dog provided ample accommodation for this purpose.

Methods of Preserving and Cooking.

There were various methods of preserving fish and birds; the former were dipped in sea-water and dried in the sun or smoked, and shell-fish were treated in the same manner. The so-called mutton-bird was cooked and preserved in its own fat in vessels of bark, and pigeons were boned and similarly stored. An important article of diet, especially in times of scarcity, was shell-fish; these were eaten fresh or were dried as other fish.

Where hot springs were found, boiling was also practised, and roasting was universal, though regarded rather in the light of a make-shift. If hot water was required for any purpose, and no hot spring was handy, water was boiled by means of hot stones dropped in the wooden water-vessels. Apart from the question of cooking, the hot springs afforded a quite luxurious form of hot baths, of which the natives were very fond (*see* p. 80).

A Maori "Party."

Apart from weaving and cooking, there is little which can be described as essentially the work of the women, but since they shared in the feasts and the various ceremonies which accompanied these festive occasions, the formalities which accompanied the visit of one friendly tribe to another may legitimately be described in this connection. The invitation was usually sent by a herald, great stores of food were prepared against the arrival of the guests, and sometimes large stages were erected on which the provisions were placed. We are told that in 1836 a feast was witnessed at which 8,000 baskets of potatoes, 500,000 eels, 800 pigs, and 15 casks of tobacco were counted.

Before the party entered the fort the women collected on some stage or hillock, waving branches and shouting the cry of welcome. They then walked to the chief open space, and the peculiar ceremony of the *tangi* was performed. This consisted of the visitors and guests sitting down in pairs, embracing and indulging in more or less prolonged lamentations. Such *tangis* always accompanied the reception of a returning war-party or, indeed, any individuals or body of friends who had been absent for some time. If the parting had been of long duration the women would cut themselves with shells or pieces of obsidian, often inflicting severe wounds. The *tangi* has been described as "the chief amusement of the females."

After the *tangi* the hosts proceeded to greet the guests in the customary fashion, by pressing noses together (*see* p. 79), and the distribution of food followed, which was either made by a "master of ceremonies," or the food was brought by a procession of women, including, if the guests were important, those of high rank. Presents of great value were sometimes distributed, which were received as if snatched from an enemy, but it was expected that their equivalent should be returned upon some future occasion.

Maori Dances.

Often such feasts were important political meetings, and were accompanied by long speeches on the part of the chiefs. Dances, too, formed a prominent feature of the ceremonies, as, indeed, at all festal gatherings. These were performed by men or women, or by both in common. They were usually descriptive. For instance, a canoe voyage might be acted; the launch of the canoe would be depicted, followed by incidents on the journey, the various vicissitudes experienced by the voyagers at the hands of the elements, and the safe conclusion of the journey. The principal feature of the dance was the remarkable time kept by the dancers, who ordered their movements with a precision almost incredible, and far surpassing the evolutions of the most highly-trained European troops. Dances were almost always accompanied by a song which formed a running commentary upon the actions of the dancers.

The dance-song, or *Haka*, was the chief amusement of the maidens and youths of

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Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

THE NATIVE FORM OF GREETING—PRESSING NOSES.

Note the *tiki* ornament worn by two of the women.

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a village on fine evenings. Their hair decked with flowers and feathers, their faces with paint and flower-petals, they sat down in a row, and a few chosen voices would start the song, the rest joining in chorus.

Referring once more to food, the Maori were great cannibals, and two circumstances

The Maori Woman in War.

guarding against the risk of fire. It was the custom for the assailants to attempt to set the fort in flames by means of red-hot stones cast from slings, and the women were employed to guard against this danger with calabashes of water ready to hand. But usually, if an opportunity

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin

A NATURAL TURKISH BATH.
A hot spring at Lake Taupo.

contributed to this. Firstly, the scarcity of animal food on the island; and secondly, per-

Cannibalism.

haps chiefly, the idea that the greatest insult to be offered to an enemy was to eat him. But women usually abstained by custom from human flesh—at any rate, among many tribes, though the chief woman of the tribe sometimes partook ceremonially of the feast.

In war, the chief business of the life of the men, women played little part, except as an incentive. They accompanied expeditions as food carriers, but did not engage in fight. In the defence of a fort they had a more important function—that of offered, they were sent away to a safe place before the attack.

Less attractive was their share in the slaughter of prisoners. This was dictated by the law of recompense, an ordinance which, in every department of life, was carried to an extreme which often seems ridiculous to us. As an instance of the common practice according to which any woman who had lost a relative or husband in battle could claim one or more victims among the prisoners, may be mentioned the incident quoted by Taylor. "When Hongi returned from a war expedition, the widow of one of his chiefs who had fallen in battle rushed down to the canoe as it approached,

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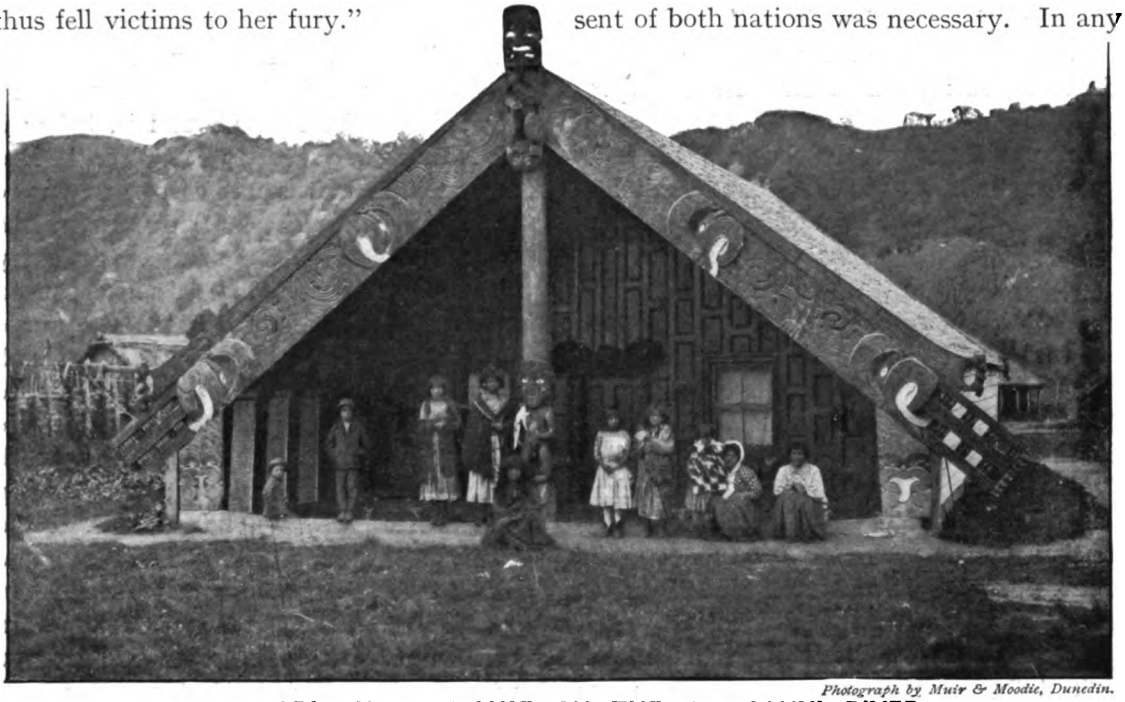
rushed down to the canoe as it approached, loudly demanding *utu* (satisfaction) for her husband's death. There were many captives on board. She jumped into a canoe with a hatchet in her hand, the poor fellows, knowing that their doom was sealed, without a murmur, of their own accord, laid their heads over the side of the canoe, and met their fate at her hands. Sixteen thus fell victims to her fury."

but the marriage of a high-born woman with a male slave was considered very disgraceful. Perhaps the reason was that a man became raised in status by union with a woman of superior rank, while the position of a woman remained unaltered by marriage.

Girls usually married within their own nation. If members of two different nations desired to become man and wife, the consent of both nations was necessary. In any



Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

A MAORI CHIEF'S HOUSE ON THE WANGANUI RIVER.
Of comparatively modern construction, though in the old style.

Maori Marriage Customs.

And now for the question of marriage. It seems strange that among this people, where most events of daily life bore a semi-religious character, and were accompanied by incantations, marriage was purely a civil matter, and the services of the priest were not in requisition. Unmarried girls were allowed great freedom, and were permitted to have lovers, but married women were expected to remain faithful to their husbands. Among the higher ranks polygamy was the rule—indeed, the importance of a chief was, in a measure, determined by the number of his wives. Each of them had her own farm and retainers, according to her rank, and contributed to the maintenance of his establishment. Among these wives slaves were frequently found, case, the brothers of the lady were the persons whose goodwill it was most necessary to cultivate. The most time-honoured method was for the man to assemble his friends and carry off his beloved, and even in cases where the affair had been arranged, a mock struggle ensued in which the lady must have had rather a bad time. Where the resistance was genuine the poor girl was often seriously injured out of spite, or even killed, by the members of the party who found themselves in danger of being overpowered. Sometimes the father simply told his intended son-in-law that he might come and live with his daughter, in which case the man became one of his wife's tribe; and it often happened that a man would lose his wife by refusing to comply with this condition. In any case,

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the act of marriage was constituted by the man taking the girl to his house.

As a rule, girls married young, brides of ten years old were not infrequent, and the girl had little choice in the matter—the match was usually arranged by her relations. Love matches, however, were known, and there exist romantic stories, of which the most charming, a sort of inverted Hero and Leander tale, may be given in conclusion. It is the story of the loves of Tutanekai and Hinemoa, as related to Sir George Grey.*

The Story of Tutanekai and Hinemoa.

In a village on the borders of Lake Rotorua lived a maiden of high rank and incomparable beauty named Hinemoa. Proud of her and of their own standing, her relations had not affianced her to a chief, because they could not find one whom they considered worthy to be her husband. On the island of Mokoia, in the middle of the lake, lived a chief who had five sons, one of whom, called Tutanekai, was believed to be illegitimate. This Tutanekai was a skilled performer on the trumpet, and he was accustomed to solace himself with music in the night-time, seated on a balcony which he had erected on the high hillside. His companion on these occasions was his bosom friend Tiki, who was also a musician, an accomplished flute-player.

Now Tutanekai and his brothers each separately resolved to win the love of Hinemoa—they had opportunities of meeting her when the tribes were assembled together on festal occasions—but none of them knew that Hinemoa had fallen in love with Tutanekai at the first moment she set eyes upon him. Both of them were shy, and each feared to make the first advances. So matters stood for some time, and Hinemoa would spend the evening listening to the music of her beloved Tutanekai wafted across the lake by the soft night-breeze.

Tutanekai at last took courage and sent a message to Hinemoa, telling her of his passion, and found that his love was returned. Shortly after this, when Tutanekai's brothers were boasting each that he was the favoured suitor, the former could keep silence no longer, and exclaimed: "No, it is I whom she loves; I have pressed her hand, and she has pressed mine in answer."

His brothers ridiculed the notion, and taunted him with the stories which were current concerning his parentage. Fired by their jests, he sent a message to Hinemoa: "A trumpet will be heard sounding every night; it will be I who sound it, beloved. Paddle then your canoe to that place." But the suspicions of the maiden's family were roused, and when she stole down at night to the lake's edge, she found that every canoe had been removed. As she sat on the shore in despair, she heard the music of Tutanekai's trumpet, and her love shook her "as an earthquake," impelling her to fly to him. Rising up, she took six large dry gourds, which she fastened beneath her arms, three on each side; and, having removed her garments, boldly entered the water and struck out for the island of Mokoia. Half the night she swam, resting when tired on the surface of the water, supported by the empty gourds, cheered and comforted by the music of her lover's trumpet, which came to her through the night with ever-increasing distinctness, her sole guide in the darkness.

At last she came to land, just above Tutanekai's village, where was a hot spring and a bathing pool. Trembling with cold, and perhaps a little with fright, she slipped gratefully into the warm water.

Now Tutanekai was thirsty, and sent a slave to fetch water, and the slave brought the calabash cup down to the lake, close by the pool where Hinemoa was sitting. The maiden was frightened, and, imitating a man's voice, called out gruffly, "For whom do you fetch water?" The slave replied: "For Tutanekai." "Give me to drink," she rejoined, and when she had drunk she smashed the cup. "Why have you smashed the cup of Tutanekai?" asked the slave; but Hinemoa answered never a word. So the slave went back and

* "Polynesian Mythology."

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told his master what had happened. "Take another calabash and fetch me water," said Tutanekai. So the slave did so. Again the scene was repeated, and again, several times, until all Tutanekai's cups were broken. Then he was angry, and, leaping up, rushed to the pool to take vengeance upon the mysterious occupant. And Hinemoa heard him coming, but shyness seized her, and she shrunk back into the shelter of the overhanging rocks by the hot spring. Her lover, seeing no one, went about the banks feeling under the rocky ledges, and finally seized her hand. "Who is there?" he cried. "It is I," said Hinemoa softly. "Who are you? Who is 'I'?" he repeated. "I, Hinemoa," said the maiden, softer still; and Tutanekai was silent in the joy of his good fortune. "Will you come to my hut?" he asked at last. "Yes," whispered she. 'And she rose up in the water as beautiful as the wild white hawk, and stepped upon the edge of the bathing-pool as graceful as the shy white crane; and he threw garments over her and took her to his house." So they were married; and later Tiki, the friend of Tutanekai, took to wife Tupa, the sister of Hinemoa.

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

A MAORI VILLAGE

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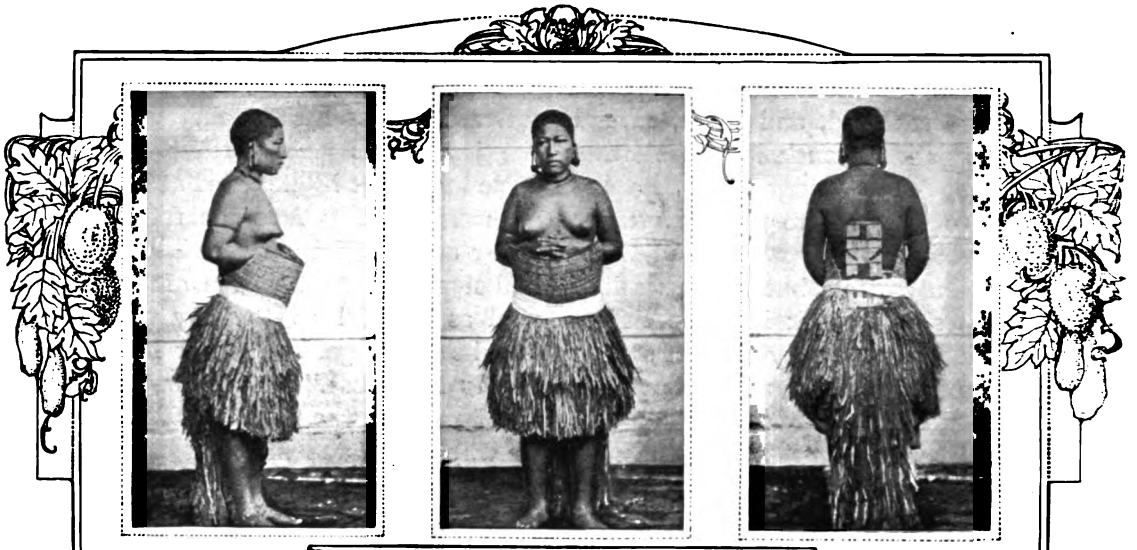

WOMAN FROM THE ANCHORITE ISLANDS.
Wearing the oahi or double apron made of turmeric leaves (*see p.* 90).

Photograph from Museum Godeffroy Album

MELANESIA

By A. HINGSTON, M.A.

Geographical Position—Physical Type—An Island of Women—Personal Decoration and Ornament—Ornament and Sex—Tattooing—Scarification—Physical Mutilation—Cranial Deformation—Blackening of the Teeth—Floral Ornaments—Personal Ornaments—Dress

THE portion of Oceania called Melanesia (*μέλας* = black, *νῆσος* = island) stretches from New Guinea on the north-west to Fiji on the south-east, over an area of several thousand miles (*see* map on p. 37). It includes, besides New Guinea and Fiji, at least seven distinct groups of islands: 1. Admiralty Islands. 2. Bismarck Archipelago. 3. Solomon Islands. 4. Santa Cruz Islands. 5. Banks and Torres Islands. 6. New Hebrides. 7. New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands. These groups of islands are occupied by peoples possessing a sufficient number of common characters to warrant their being classed together under the race name of Melanesians.

Geographical Position.

Their head-form is in general the same, prevailingly long and narrow, with a large, square, or lozenge-shaped face, and a broad and short nose, straight and upturned. The skin colour reflects all shades between *café au lait* and *café noir*, sometimes glowing with a warm reddish tinge, like rusty iron. The hair is always naturally black, growing in little tight spirals, seldom attaining any great length, but longer and less woolly than that of the African Negroes.

Physical Type of Melanesians.

In spite of these general resemblances throughout the whole island area, each group has to a certain extent specialised in various directions.

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The lack of sea-faring ability or ambition, and the fierce and quarrelsome disposition, characteristic of the Melanesian race, have made friendly relations between the groups impossible, and very little voluntary intercourse springs up even between neighbouring islets.

Involuntary visits are not infrequent owing to the drifting of canoes out of their course, and traditions preserve records of a number of these. In some instances the newcomers made a settlement, and so brought about an admixture still traceable in the population; but more often the whole boat-load was murdered on its arrival, for every stranger was looked upon not only as a dangerous enemy, but also as a welcome addition to the scanty store of animal food, in a land where the largest indigenous mammal was the rat.

GIRL FROM THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS.
Showing necklace, shell-bead apron, and other ornaments.

Since these were the conditions prevalent in Melanesia before the advent of civilisation, and since in many of the islands civilisation has but touched the shores, it is not surprising to find a lack of uniformity in personal appearance, dress, ornament, customs and habits throughout the whole area. The result is that, though generalisations are possible, nonconformity is seen to exist in almost every direction, and in no case is our knowledge of Melanesia so complete as to warrant an assertion that a certain feature is to be found throughout, or that another feature is entirely missing.

Moreover, civilisation is making such rapid and radical changes in manners and customs that what is true one moment may not be true the next, and in the following pages the present tense should often, in strict accuracy, be replaced by the less graphic past.

Under these circumstances the study of man is difficult, and the study of woman even more so. For the men are extremely jealous and suspicious, and the women particularly shy and modest. Travellers frequently relate that on reaching certain villages the women were all hidden in the bush, only men were to be seen, and not until after the visitors had proved themselves to be human (for at first the pale-faced Europeans were taken for ghosts), and their intentions recognised to be peaceful and trustworthy, did a few of the older women venture out of their seclusion.

But there is one island in Melanesia where the rule seems to be reversed, where the women alone are visible, and no men are to be seen, and it is particularly interesting

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from the fact that tradition credits it with an exclusively female population.

An Island of Women.

According to the story the Land of the Pandanus Tree—that is the name of the Adamless Eden—was visited by Kaidakita, the Ulysses of Stewart Island, who found it occupied entirely by women. The tradition was located in Rennell (S. E. Solomons), and so firmly was the tale believed in that some few years ago an expedition was fitted out in the United States to search for and take possession of the desirable island, and it was only abandoned on discovery that the area had already been placed under British protection. Curiously enough, on two occasions when the Resident Commissioner of the Solomon Islands visited Rennell, only women were to be seen. He accounted for this fact by the supposition that the women worked in the gardens while the men were away fishing. The fact is also explicable on racial grounds, for the inhabitants are Polynesian, not Melanesian, and the difference in the attitude of their women forms one of the most marked features of contrast between the two neighbouring races.

Ornament and Sex.

The distribution of ornament between the sexes has been quoted as one of the tests of civilisation. "The grade of advancement of a race may, to some extent, be measured by the amount of expense which the men are willing to incur in decorating their wives. . . . . The males in highly civilised communities revert to the savage condition of profuse decoration only as warriors or officials or on state occasions."

In Melanesia the opposite obtains. The woman may, on grand occasions, be dressed up in all the family possessions, to display the wealth and importance of her husband, but in ordinary life the greater share of the ornaments is worn by the male. Many a gallant sailor has been mortified to see the necklaces or bracelets which he had bestowed on some dusky belle appropriated without ceremony by one of her male relatives.

In the Admiralty Islands the decoration is confined almost entirely to the men. Young girls sometimes have a necklace, arm-band, or leg-band, as is seen in the picture of the girl on p. 85. Old women have no ornaments at all. The women are even debarred from indulging in the universal South Sea method of decoration—wearing bright flowers in the hair, for their heads are closely shaven.

Tattooing.

The only outlet for their decorative impulse is in tattooing—"Having no clothes to embroider, they embroider their skins." Tattooing is almost entirely confined to the women, and with them it is universal.

There are three types of skin decoration in Melanesia.

1. Tattooing by puncture or incision, with the introduction of colouring matter.

2. Scarification or cicatrisation by gashing or burning, leaving raised scars.

3. Ulceration by blister-producing plants.

The Admiralty Island method of tattooing is by a series of fine lines or cuts, made with some sharp instrument, the pattern being formed in rings all over the face and in diagonal lines over the chest. Dark pigment is rubbed into the incisions.

Owing to the dark colour of the Melanesian skin, tattooing is not very effective, being invisible at a short distance, and it has only been noted in the Admiralties, the Solomons, New Caledonia, and Fiji. Possibly it everywhere shows Polynesian influence.

In Fiji, as in the Admiralty Islands, the decoration is confined to the women, and the operators are always of the same sex. The work is started at an early age with a view to its being completed before betrothal, as, owing to the painful nature of the process, only a little can be done at a time. The operator generally works until the pain can no longer be endured, and the more elaborate patterns take several months to complete. Sometimes the tattooing is not performed until after the first child is born, and further patterns may be added from time to time. Tattooed spots at the corners of the mouth indicate, in some parts, that the woman has borne children, but often they are added merely to conceal

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the wrinkles of age. In the Fijian Hades the women that are not tattooed are chased by their own sex, who tear and cut them with sharp shells, giving them no respite; or else they are scraped up and made into food for the gods.

Scarification.

With a black skin, scarification is the most effective method of ornamentation, for by means of incisions, often augmented by the introduction of some irritant, the non-pigmented dermic layer is destroyed, and the scars show up light against the dark skin. Scarification is practically universal throughout Melanesia.

Scarifications may be seen on the bodies of the New Ireland women on p. 89. The one smoking a pipe, and whose hair is whitened with lime, has marks on her chest and right arm, and a symmetrical scarification is visible on the body of the woman two places further to the right in the same row.

In Guadalcanar the faces of the women are ornamented all over with circular or chevron-shaped cicatrices, carved with the claw of the flying-fox or fruit-eating bat. This has to be done by a professional man, and it is a costly and painful process. In Eromanga (New Hebrides) the women operate on each other, tracing designs of leaves, flowers, etc., on cheeks and chins. In Tanna no particular design is followed, but large scars are produced on arms and thighs. In New Caledonia raised scars are made by a peculiarly painful method. A small hole is made in the skin, and a dry stalk inserted and set alight, so that it burns the skin. This is repeated in some thousands of holes until a large area is decorated.

Physical Mutilation.

It has been observed that when few clothes or none at all are worn it is necessary to hang such ornaments as are desired on to the body itself, and this results in certain decorative mutilations, such as boring the ear and nose.

A Melanesian child generally has her ear-lobe bored while quite young, and a piece of grass keeps the hole from filling up; the aperture is gradually enlarged by the introduction of thicker rods or discs and by the attachment of heavy weights, until the lobe is distended and hangs down to the shoulders, and often below. The edge of the ear may also be bored and hung round with rings or other ornaments.

The cartilage of the nose is often bored a few days after birth, and a piece of grass inserted which is later on replaced by skewers of wood, bone or shell. Ornaments such as a claw, a bone pin with a few beads at the end, etc., are occasionally worn stuck into the sides of the nostrils (*see* p. 88).

The piercing of the nasal septum seems to have some religious significance in the Solomons. The ghosts on the way to the land of the dead are met by an official spirit with a rod, which he thrusts into the cartilage of their noses to see if they are pierced, and if they are, they may proceed by a good path; if not, they have to find another way beset with pain and difficulty.

Cranial Deformation.

Among the most extraordinary and conspicuous of ethnic deformations is the alteration of the shape of the head by means of pressure. In New Caledonia the head of the new-born infant is squeezed by means of the fingers, steeped in hot water. One tribe affects transverse pressure with depressed forehead, and another narrows the head until it is no wider than the neck. In another part there are different fashions for boys and girls. A boy's face is lengthened to make him look like a warrior, while that of a girl is rounded by raising the chin.

The most marked instance of cranial deformation is seen in Malekula. A band is wound several times round the head of an infant and kept in place by means of transverse bandages, and the head is not released from constriction until the age of from twelve to fifteen. The process is extremely painful, and the eyes of the child seem ready to start out of its head, but it appears to have no dangerous consequences except perhaps by favouring the outbreak of cerebral

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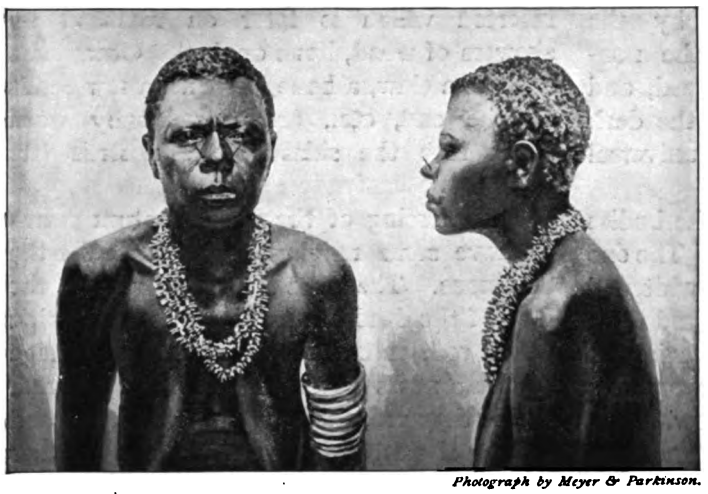
disease. A mother takes great pride in the shape of her child's head, and, where the girls are concerned, it influences their marriageable value. A girl whose head had not been properly shaped in her infancy would not be chosen as a wife for a man of position.

In Futuna a heavy roll of *tapa* or native cloth is placed on the heads of young children to give them the high and narrow shape which is considered ornamental.



Photograph by Meyer & Parkinson.

WOMAN OF THE GAZELLE PENINSULA, NEW BRITAIN.
With *cuscus* teeth necklace. (Front and profile views.)

Under mutilations may also be classed the blackening of the teeth, characteristic of the Melanesians from the Admiralty Isles to the New Hebrides. Areca nut, betel pepper leaf, and lime are chewed together, resulting in the accumulation of a black incrustation on the teeth. The habit is so universal that familiarity has bred admiration, and it is thought disgusting to have white teeth "like dogs."

Blackening of the Teeth.

Decorations of bright flowers and leaves made into necklets or girdles are not uncommon, but seem to be enjoyed more by the men than the women, and the tucking of sweet-smelling flowers or leaves into waist-belts or armlets is almost exclusively a masculine fashion. But the whole question of ornament is bound up with that of the relationship of the sexes, and the scents are undoubtedly worn to attract the females. It is interesting to note how, in a land where polygyny prevails, and there is no surplus female population, the coquettish wiles considered exclusively feminine in a civilised community form part of the outfit of the male. Not that the females in Melanesia represent "beauty unadorned," for, except in the Admiralties, it is rare to see a woman without ornaments of some description, and often they are overloaded with them; but in every case, where one sex is more profusely decorated than the other, the advantage lies with the male.

Floral Ornaments.

The personal ornaments worn by the women comprise necklaces, girdles, headbands, combs, armlets, bracelets, leglets and anklets, besides ornaments stuck in the holes in ears and nose. They may be made of wood, bamboo, leaves, berries, seeds, nuts, fibre, and grasses; of bones, claws, teeth, turtleshell, fur, hair, feathers, or tails; of stone or of shell; not counting trade goods of all descriptions.

Personal Ornaments.

Among the most effective of all Melanesian ornaments are those made of boars' tusks. The lower canines of a boar are removed, and the upper pair, having nothing to bite against, grow into an almost complete circle, sometimes entering the upper jaw again. These ornaments are highly prized, and in parts are the exclusive property of the men; but where pigs are plentiful, as in the New Hebrides, they may be seen on women as well, the ivory showing up finely against their dark skins.

A fashionable ornament for women in New Britain consists of human ribs hung round the neck, and the New Britain women sometimes wear bone or wooden spikes in the wings of the nose, projecting like tusks on either side. More picturesque and more valuable is the necklace of *cuscus* teeth worn

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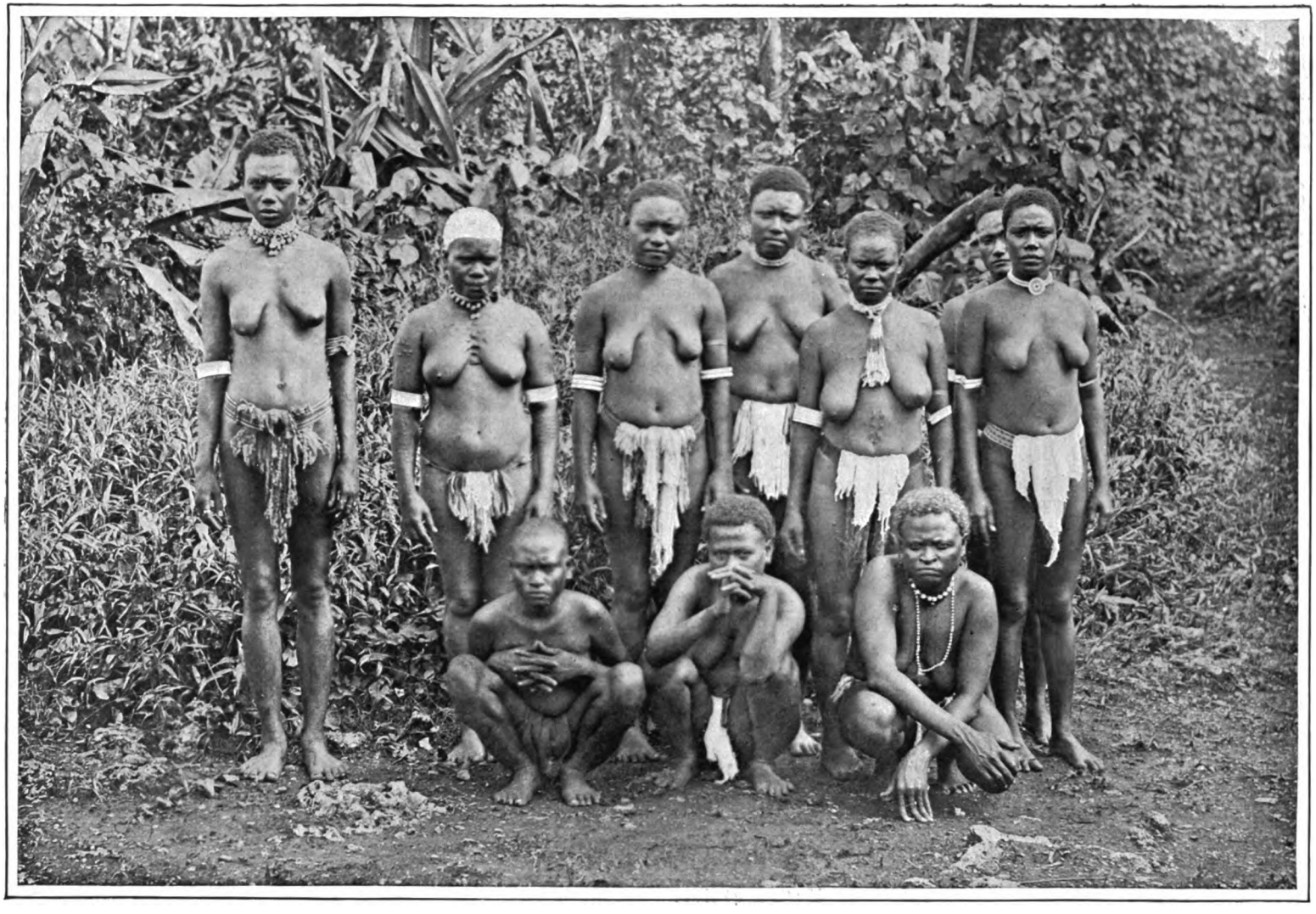

WOMEN FROM NEW IRELAND.

Showing costume, ornament, and scarification. (*See pp.* 87 *and* 91.)

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by women of the Gazelle Peninsula (p. 88). Fifty of these teeth are worth a fathom of *dewarra* or shell money (about two shillings), and the necklace contains a thousand teeth. The women only wear them until enough have been collected to make the collar which forms the most prized ornament of the New Britain men, and an indication of their wealth and position.

The shell beads which preceded the glass beads of civilisation were the product of great skill and patient labour. First the piece of shell had to be chipped down to the required size for the disc, an operation involving a vast amount of time; then the holes had to be bored either by means of a drill with a sharp tip of obsidian, or by repeated tapping. The discs were then strung on a thread of fibre and all ground together to a uniform size, shape, and smoothness of edge. A special variety made in San Cristoval consisted of discs, one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter, fifty to the inch. This was used for money as well as ornament, for ornaments usually have a certain relative value and pass readily into currency.

SOLOMON ISLAND GIRL.
Showing costume and ornaments.

The women of Shortland Island are very clever in making dance aprons of beads by stringing them on to fibre. One made of shell beads gives great distinction to its possessor, and is rarely to be obtained. Shell-bead aprons also occur in the Admiralty Islands, and one is illustrated on p. 85.

Each nephrite bead of the necklace which the New Caledonian bridegroom presents to his bride represents several months of labour, so the strings are handed down from generation to generation as family heirlooms. In the same island the hairs below the ears of flying foxes or fruit-eating bats are plaited into cords, which are very highly prized. A special ornament of a cord on which a white cowry shell is strung is worn here by men alone. It is interesting to note that rank may, to a certain extent, compensate for disability of sex, for a chief's daughter is allowed to wear this decoration at certain *fêtes*.

Varieties of Costume.

The clothing of uncivilised peoples is influenced by so many factors, sexual, superstitious, social, economic and artistic, that it is not surprising if fashions in dress vary considerably in Melanesia, both for men and women: of some of the former it is often remarked that absolute nudity would be more decent, but the latter are usually sufficiently and artistically clothed.

In parts of the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands and the Banks Islands, women may be seen entirely naked, but generally a girdle, fringe, or petticoat is worn, varying in material, width and ornamentation. The irreducible minimum is reached in New Caledonia, where the dress consists of a string round the waist, supporting a little rag scarcely the size of a penny; but the Eromangan woman wears an ample petticoat from waist to heel, and the Nitendi costume consists of a complete covering of mats from head to foot.

One of the most bizarre costumes is the *oahi*, worn by the women of the Anchorite Islands, consisting of two aprons made of the leaves of a species of turmeric. One wide piece folds round the body, almost meeting behind, and a back piece covers the join, reaching from the shoulder-blades to the ground. A girdle of plaited Pandanus leaf secures the whole (*see* p. 84).

The simplest form of costume, and one that might have been worn by Eve herself, occurs sporadically throughout Melanesia. A piece of fibre or liana is wound round the

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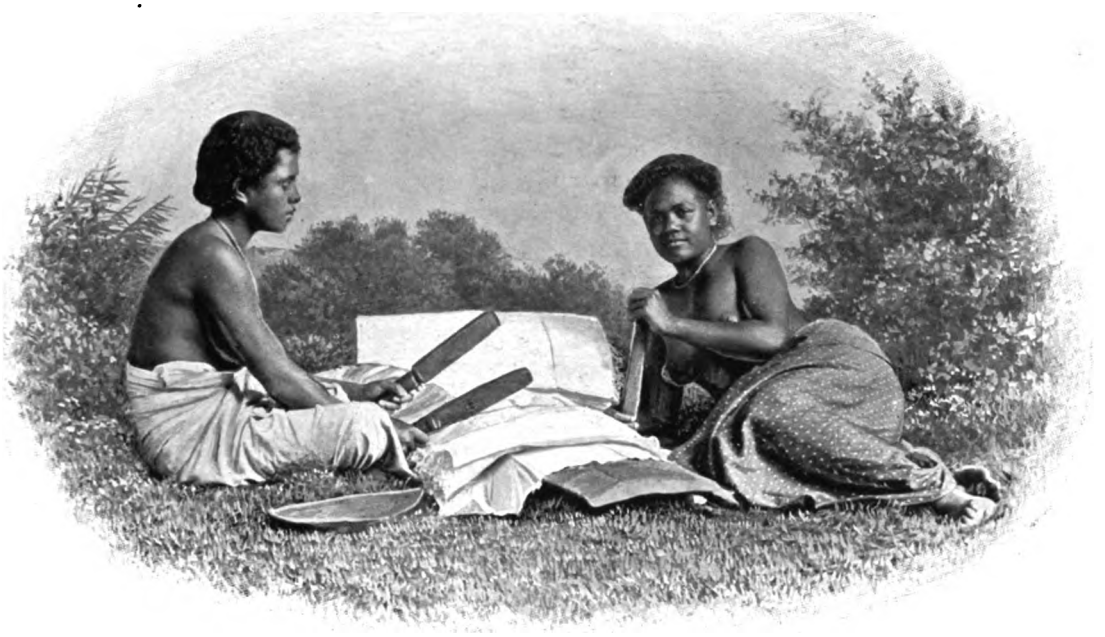
waist and tied over one hip, and a bunch of grass fibre or leaves, etc., tucked in before and behind.

This type of costume which is well shown in the New Ireland group on p. 89, can be donned at a moment's notice, and a woman, paying a visit across an inlet or along the shore, would leave her own garment at home, swim to her destination, and provide herself with a new dress on landing.

In the Admiralty Islands this is the ordinary form of clothing, but decoration is introduced by a brilliant red dye with which the tufts of grass are stained.

In parts of the Solomon Islands a short petticoat of fibre is the fashion, varying from a depth of only four inches in Ulaua to a depth of a foot or more in Guadalcanar. In the Shortland group a special sort of sporran, called *bassa*, is worn, made with great care from specified plants, and both the plants and the garment are *tabu*. An ethnological collector, who spent some time in the islands, was very anxious to obtain a specimen, but he found that the women absolutely rejected all attempts at barter. At last, by means of persuasion and irresistible bribes, he prevailed upon a widow of the chief, Gorai, to part with one of these sacred garments, though the transaction was fraught with danger both for buyer and seller. She was afraid to come openly, so she brought the *bassa* at night, and insisted on seeing it packed away in a chest in her presence, with the promise that it should never be shown to a Shortland Island man.



Photograph by J. W. Watters.

TAPA BEATING IN FIJI.

The girls beat the moistened strips of bark, on a hollow tree-trunk, with wooden mallets.

In the Banks Islands clothes are seldom worn, but some of the older women have narrow plaited bands ornamented with crimson dye.

In Santa Cruz and the New Hebrides dresses are made of mats. These are plaited in strips of Pandanus leaf or fibre, or other flexible material, and they are worn, one before and one behind, attached to a plaited girdle. Special fashions prevail in the different islands of the New Hebrides. In Ambrym frills of cocoanut leaves give the women the appearance of ballet dancers; in Aoba a little double band, ending in fringed tufts, is made of plaited fibre; but the most peculiar type is found in Vate. Here a

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broad belt of matting is worn, worked in a diamond pattern, in red, white, and black, and to this is attached behind the singular appendage of a tail, made in grass or matting, with ends of a loose fringe, a foot and a half in length, reaching nearly to the ankles.

In the interior of Fiji, which is still almost untouched by civilisation, the short frill of bast or fibre may still be seen, but European dress is fast superseding native garments elsewhere, and silks and velvets take the place of bark-cloth among the higher ranks of society. Often the adoption of the new costumes does not entail the casting off of the old, and the two Fijian girls on p. 97 wear the native and the imported garments in somewhat incongruous juxtaposition.

Bark-cloth.

Bark-cloth is made and worn in some of the islands, although it does not play such an important part in Melanesia as in Polynesia, nor is it so artistically treated. It only comes into common use in Fiji, where Polynesian influence is strong. Here its preparation is one of the most important tasks of the women. Two Fijian girls are seen hammering out the piece of bark on p. 91, and the illustration on p. 101 shows a completed piece of cloth spread out on the ground, ready to be painted.

GROUP OF MOUNTAINEERS FROM KANDAVU, FIJI.

In the Solomon Islands the bark of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) is stripped off, steeped in water, hammered to the required size and flexibility, and worn in various ways. Commonly the narrow strip of cloth is wound round the waist, and the ends are first tied in front and then passed between the legs and fastened into the belt behind. In Ysabel the cloth is dyed a blueish tinge, and a broad strip wound round and round the loins, reaching nearly to the knee. The bark of the bread-fruit tree is also made into cloth.

Large pieces of bark-cloth are made in New Britain (Blanche Bay) and in parts of the New Hebrides, where they form an

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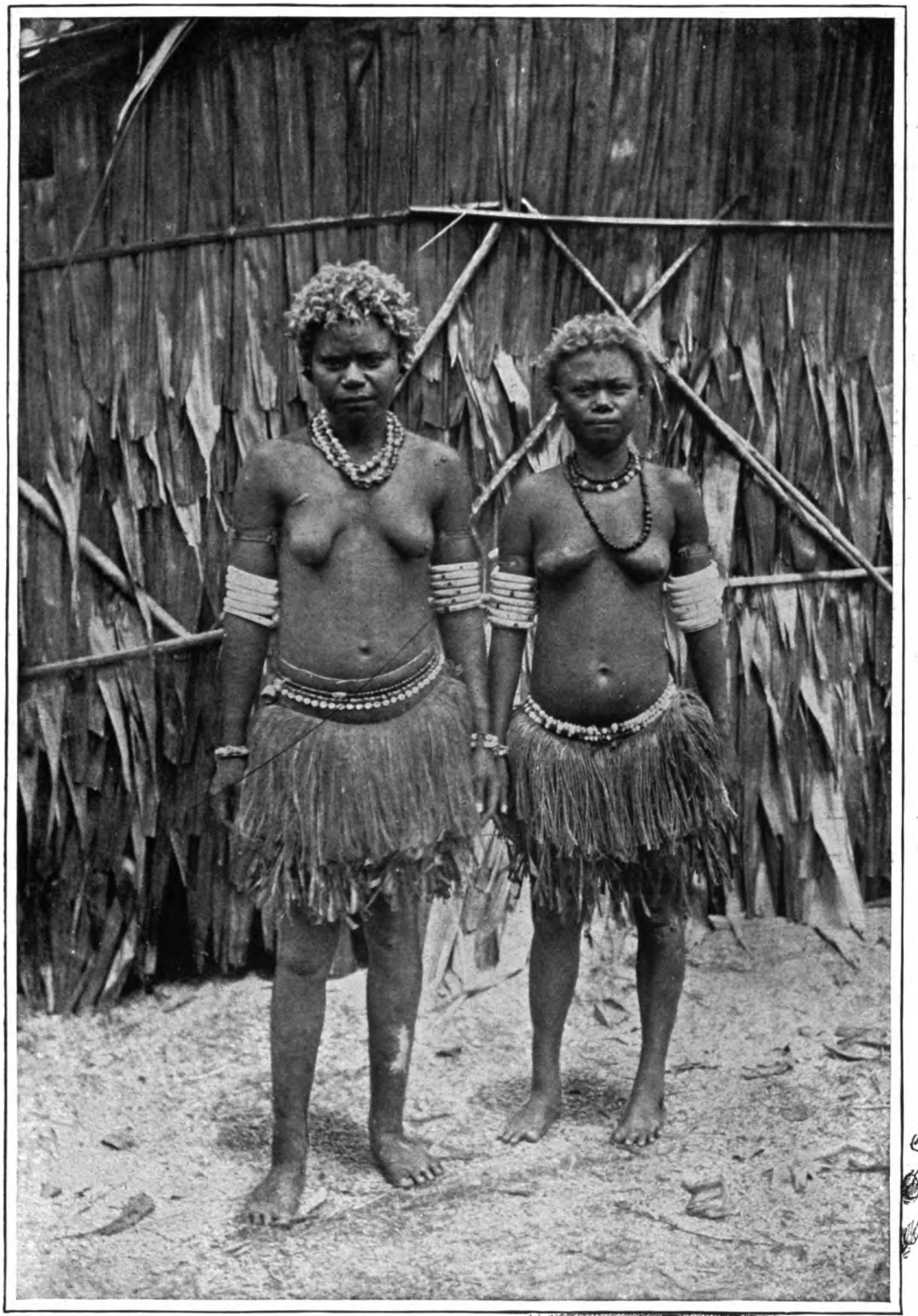

SOLOMON ISLANDS GIRLS.
With fibre petticoats, and ornaments of beads and shells. Their hair, from being constantly plastered with lime, is bleached to a reddish hue.

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important article of commerce between the islands. In the New Hebrides and also in New Caledonia the bark of the banyan fig (*Ficus prolixa*) is treated like the paper mulberry, and made into cloth. Pieces of bark-cloth are imported into Vanikoro (Santa Cruz), and worn in the following way. A piece of slit cane or rattan is polished highly to a fine black, and forms the belt by being twisted into a concatenation of small hoops. To this the piece of cloth is fastened to form a kilt reaching to the knee.

In New Caledonia a herbaceous plant is chewed and expectorated, and produces a violet dye for the bark-cloth. The wearing of this is the special prerogative of married women, who have a strip wound round and round their bodies, leaving only the chest and legs bare. They also wear mantles, made of a kind of plaited rush, in cold weather.

Woven Materials.

The most advanced type of native dress is found in Nitendi (Santa Cruz), where the women cover their bodies and heads with fine mats made in a loom. A loom is also found in Leueneuwa (S.E. Solomons), where the people are Polynesians, with a strong Micronesian element, and traces of loom-work are recorded from San Matthias and the Banks Islands, though no loom is now to be found. Nitendi is the only purely Melanesian island in which the loom is in use.

Nowadays the calico of civilisation is everywhere superseding the materials of native manufacture, and, under missionary influence, the picturesque native dresses are discarded for travesties of European costumes.

Superstition and Dress.

Undoubtedly a great amount of superstition is bound up with native dresses, and this may have justified the missionaries in insisting on their being discarded with the adoption of Christian belief, but it is a pity that the beauty of the inward conversion is not more faithfully imaged in the exterior. In the Solomon Islands a satisfactory compromise has been effected, and the dress of the regenerate is the *sulu*, a large coloured handkerchief, which is worn round the waist, and has a most becoming effect. It is possible that the *sulu* may have an important influence in the spread of civilisation.

Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

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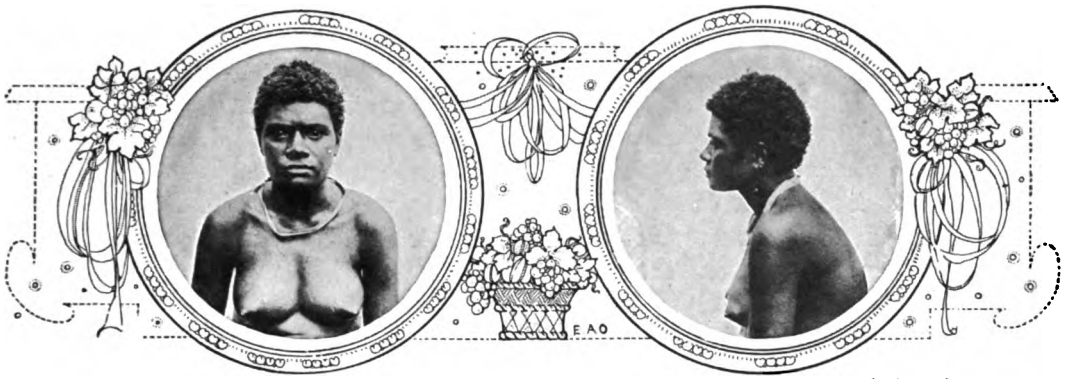

Photograph by Meyer & Parkinson.

FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF A NEW BRITAIN WOMAN.
Her only ornament is a strip of banana leaf tied round her neck.

II

Birth and Childhood—Treatment of Girl-Children—Preparations for Marriage—Betrothal and Marriage—Child Betrothals—New Britain Customs—Woman Proposes—Ambrym Girls Exchanged for Pigs—Marriage a Matter of Commerce—Polygyny—The Question of Morals—Widows and Widowhood—Murder of Widows

AT the moment of her birth the little Melanesian girl-baby finds herself in a precarious position, for the first question is "to be or not to be," and her grant of existence depends on various circumstances.

Birth and Childhood.

Should she be one of twins she will probably be left to die of starvation, or, more mercifully, be thrown at once into the sea or buried alive. This may be either because of the inability or unwillingness of her mother to tend and care for more than one infant at a time, or else because twins, being unusual, are looked upon with suspicion as something uncanny, and it is considered safer to put one or both of the potential sources of danger out of the way.

Twins are not everywhere regarded as necessarily maleficent. Their rare occurrence in parts of the Solomons is considered proof of their being due to special spiritual interference, and in the Banks Islands parents are boastfully proud of twins. In the New Hebrides women who want a child go to a sacred place in the hope that Tagaro, the Creator, will give them one, and sometimes he gives them two. This is looked upon as very auspicious, and great things are expected of the children.

Treatment of Girl-Children.

When a girl-baby makes her way alone into the world she cannot be sure of a welcome. Girls may not be wanted in that particular district or family, or it may be the fashion to kill all the children as soon as they are born, as in parts of San Cristoval, and to save trouble and expense of infantile up-bringing by importing well-grown children from other districts. The birth of a girl is generally regarded as a family misfortune. Mrs. Paton tells of the news of the birth of a boy baby to Litsi, a favourite *protégée* of hers, about whom she had been very anxious. The girl's uncle brought the news, and Mrs. Paton uttered a very fervent "Thank God," to which the man responded earnestly, "O, Missi, that's just the very thing I said myself, for, you know, it might have been a girl." In New Caledonia the women are supposed to belong to a lower grade than the men, and the birth of a girl is considered of no importance; the

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child may be either exposed or buried alive, and the father takes no interest.

The island of Tucopia (Santa Cruz) is very small, and there all male children, except the first two, are strangled as soon as they are born, the reason given being that there is not room for a dense population, owing to the scanty resources of the island. But female children are never strangled, with the result that the females treble the males in the population.

In the Banks Islands also the female children are preserved rather than males, as being of greater value both to their immediate family and to the larger family group. The immediate family benefits by the presents made at betrothal and marriage; and, since descent is reckoned through the females, the number of female relations contributes to the importance and influence of the whole group.

In the Solomon group it is generally the grandmother who limits the number of children that the young and strong shall have to attend to. The old women have to do all the field work while the young ones are occupied with their children, and this they resent. Ariahurono, a chief of Boré (San Cristoval), thus related his infantile adventures. "My mama, when I was born, she no want piccaninni, so she dig hole, and put me in. But another woman, she want piccaninni, so she take me out and feed me."

The Rev. Lorimer Fison says: "The grave was to the Fijian what the workhouse is to our pauper class at home; and thither he sent, as a matter of course, the unproductive members of his family, not excepting his infant children if they came in his way by arriving at an inconvenient season, or if they were deformed, sickly, too numerous, or what he looked upon as the wrong sex, or otherwise displeasing to him. 'The children are there,' said an old chief, pointing to the corner of the house which was always hidden from view by a large screen of native cloth; and he went on to explain that, as near as he could remember, about fifteen of them lay buried there, a few of whom had died natural deaths, but the majority of them had been disposed of for some one or other of the above reasons. He had kept a harem of more than fifty wives."

In many parts of Melanesia infanticide seems never to have been practised, and in other parts only to have been resorted to under the influence of economic pressure; and the child, if allowed to live and admitted into the family, finds no lack of that parental love and care which are its natural heritage in all grades of civilisation throughout the world.

Small children have occasionally been offered for sale by their parents to Europeans, but this is due less to a want of parental appreciation than to the domination of the trading instinct, under the influence of which every man has his price. A New Caledonian father will willingly exchange his daughter for a gun, and, from a commercial point of view, he makes a good bargain.

But instances of the most tender affection are not wanting. One of the most pathetic letters received by Bishop Selwyn was from Soga, of Bugotu, Ysabel, on the death of his only child from whooping-cough. "My father, I cannot write a long letter, because grief has come to me, for my child is dead with me, and I continue wretched. I have not done anything against God."

The children on their part are said to show no particular sentiment with regard to their parents, especially their mother, whom they cannot always recognise when their father possesses numerous wives. But here, again, there are many exceptions.

Throughout Melanesia, as a rule, less attention is paid to the birth of a girl than to that of a boy, and the feasts and pig-killings or other ceremonies designed to attract spiritual favours or avert spiritual maleficence are generally omitted. In the New Hebrides a pretty custom exists. When the child is ten days old, and the mother is well again, the father goes down to the beach to wash the things belonging to the baby. If the child is a boy he scatters toy bows as he walks along, so that he may be strong and a good bowman; if the child

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Photograph by J. W. Waters.

TWO GIRLS FROM FIJI.

They are wearing native petticoats over their European frocks. Their hair is stiffened by means of gum, and decorated with combs with long spikes. The upper one is a half-caste.

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is a girl he scatters Pandanus fibres on her behalf, in order that she may be industrious in the making of mats.

Sometimes the mother names the child, generally after a relation; sometimes the father gives her a name, which she keeps throughout life; sometimes she has no particular name at all, but has a generic name according to her age and status; sometimes she only gains a name after marriage, when she is known as the wife of So-and-so.

LOUISA AND FANNY.
Mission girls from Motalava, Banks Islands.

Children soon learn to fend for themselves, and at a very early age they cultivate such garden produce as will make them self-supporting. The mothers instruct the girls in their daily work, and they soon develop into useful members of the family.

Preparations for Marriage.

But childhood in Melanesia is of short duration. At the age when English children are still in the nursery, playing with their dolls, the little Melanesian girl is already being prepared for the most important occurrence of her life—matrimony.

Girls reach maturity early, generally before they are thirteen, often by the time they are ten; but they may be married at even earlier ages, ten being the marriageable age in New Britain, while in Ambrym girls are often married between seven and ten.

There are diverse customs in the various island groups to indicate when the marriageable age has arrived, generally consisting in the outward and visible signs of the donning of clothes and decoration by tattooing. The tattooing is usually done by a professional, and all the family and friends contribute towards the expenses, being rewarded by a feast when the work is over. The ornamented areas swell and give great pain, but *il faut souffrir pour être belle*, and besides, no girl would be considered marriageable unless she were tattooed.

In parts of the New Hebrides when a girl attains maturity her upper front teeth are knocked out, either by several small taps or one hard blow with a stone. One girl, seen by Dr. Cailliot in Malekula, had refused to undergo the operation, on account of the pain. She therefore remained unmarried, and was the object of unanimous scorn. The custom, however, only occurs in one or two districts.

Miss Grimshaw says that the operation is performed by the old women of the tribe, who greatly enjoy the revenge they are thus enabled to take on the younger generation for the injury once inflicted by their elders upon them.

More curious are the customs in vogue in parts of New Ireland, which were seen and described by the Rev. G. Brown. The poorer girls wear a fringe crossed over their breasts and backs until they are marriageable, but those who can afford the expense keep the girls in tiny cages, from the age of eight or ten, until they emerge to be married some five years later. Several girls are generally kept together in a special house, in an enclosure, guarded by an old woman, and each girl is put in a separate cage made of the broad leaves of the Pandanus tree, sewn quite closely together, so that no light and very little air can enter.

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These conical structures are built on piles, and they measure about ten to twelve feet in circumference at the bottom and for about four feet from the ground, and above that they taper off to a point. There is only room inside for the girl to sit or lie down in a crouched position. Yet here the girls remain for four or five years, never being allowed out save once a day to bathe in a dish or wooden bowl placed close to their cage, and they are not allowed to place their feet on the ground.

By means of bribery Mr. Brown got permission from the chief to see the girls, though it is *tabu* for any men, not their own relations, to look at them; and the old woman who acted as guardian, and the girls themselves, were evidently afraid of the consequences of disregarding the prohibition. He tried to inspect the interior of one of the cages, but the atmosphere was so hot and stifling that he could scarcely put his head inside. He asked if the girls ever died during their long confinement, and was answered negatively; if they are ill they are not allowed to emerge.

Modified forms of the custom occur in different parts of the island and in New Britain, and an analogous custom is found in Fiji, though in none of these places does the confinement seem to be so severe.

Child Betrothals.

Melanesian girls who belong to families of importance are betrothed very early, sometimes even before they are born, for the father of a new-born son begins at once to look out for the birth of a girl who will be a suitable wife for him; and it may be arranged between certain families that the next girl born in one shall be promised to the boy in the other. As soon as the betrothal takes place a series of negotiations and giving of presents begins, which ends with the marriage. Often the tattooing of the girl is the sign to the prospective father-in-law that the time has come to conclude the bargain, to make the final payments in compensation to the family for the loss of the girl, and to claim the bride for his son.

In New Britain, when a boy is about fourteen, his uncle buys a girl of eight from her mother to be a wife for his nephew; and later on the marriage takes place, with the giving of feasts which form the necessary accompaniment in all orthodox weddings.

In the New Hebrides a girl of seven or eight is almost always married prospectively to a man of eighteen or twenty, who looks on her as his wife. But she does not always view the matter in the same light, and as she grows older she may run off into the bush with the man of her choice, leaving the families to wrangle over the financial complications that ensue.

In New Caledonia the marriages are all

Photograph by G. B. Nething.

NEW CALEDONIAN WOMAN.
In ordinary dress.

arranged by the relations, and we are told that the children "are rarely consulted, and always obedient"; but the girl of a wealthy family is allowed a free choice, which she exercises according to local

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custom in a dramatic manner. If there are several suitors, they all come to the girl's village, and the men stand in a row on one side, with the girl facing them. Between them is placed a leaf piled up with pieces of coco-nut, one piece for each man. Each man takes a piece, and bites a bit off it, and lays the rest down again on the leaf. If the girl likes a man, she takes the piece which he has bitten and eats it, and the man pays the money demanded by her relations and takes her away. Should none of the men please her, she remains unmarried.

Among the presents of the New Caledonian bridegroom to the bride must be a necklace of worked nephrite beads, without which no betrothal is conclusive, and no marriage is valid unless the bride and bridegroom have drunk out of the same cup a fermented drink made from chewed herbs.

When children are betrothed very young, it is considered advantageous for them to have every opportunity of making each other's acquaintance, and the little girl is often sent to the house of her *fiancé*, bringing her food with her, to stay for a month or so, and get on friendly terms with the whole family. Then, when the time for marriage comes, she goes willingly to her husband's people as to a second home. In the Northern New Hebrides the girl is brought up in the house of her prospective mother-in-law from such a tender age that the boy often believes her to be his sister, and he is very shy of her when he learns their real relationship. At Aoba the girl is taken at ten years old to the house of her future husband, where his mother teaches her the ways of the household, and she grows up with the other children. When she is old enough, her parents fetch her home to be tattooed and clothed, and when the negotiations and payments are complete she returns to her adopted home as a bride.

In New Britain betrothals generally take place at an early age, to enable the man to pay for his wife before old age overtakes him. The payments are made in instalments, and the enormous sum asked for a girl is not usually expected to be paid in full. When the betrothed couple are grown up, and a certain portion of the price has been paid, the man will build a little hut in the bush for his wife, and the two elope together. The father of the girl collects his friends and relations in great anger—real or assumed—and they set out to kill the bridegroom. As a rule the latter is not to be found, and they content themselves with burning down the hut, after which outburst of their feelings they return to the village, where the wedded pair has meanwhile probably settled. But if enough of the bride-price has not been paid the expedition is undertaken in earnest, and the young couple will not be allowed to return until satisfaction has been given.

New Britain Customs.

When a young man grows up unbetrothed and is allowed to choose a wife for himself, he is hedged in by numerous restrictions. First the permission of the chief is always necessary, but this restraint has also its compensations, for the chief will often buy a wife for a man who is too poor to procure one for himself. Then in every tribe there are two distinct sections, and a man may only marry a woman from the section to which he does not himself belong.

The normal procedure in New Britain is as follows :—

Suppose a young man to want a girl for his wife. She would, of course, belong to the section into which he could properly marry, for it would no more occur to him to marry into his own section than to marry his own sister. The first step would be to inform his father, mother, or the chief of the district, and then to run away into the bush and hide. This is to escape from the spirits of dead relations who are particularly malicious at this especial juncture. Meanwhile the negotiations proceed between the relations of the prospective bride and bridegroom, the one party offering a certain amount of *dewarra*, or shell-money, and the other demanding more, and much haggling ensues before both parties acknowledge themselves satisfied. Then a certain day is fixed for the marriage, and the girl's relations bring her to the house of the

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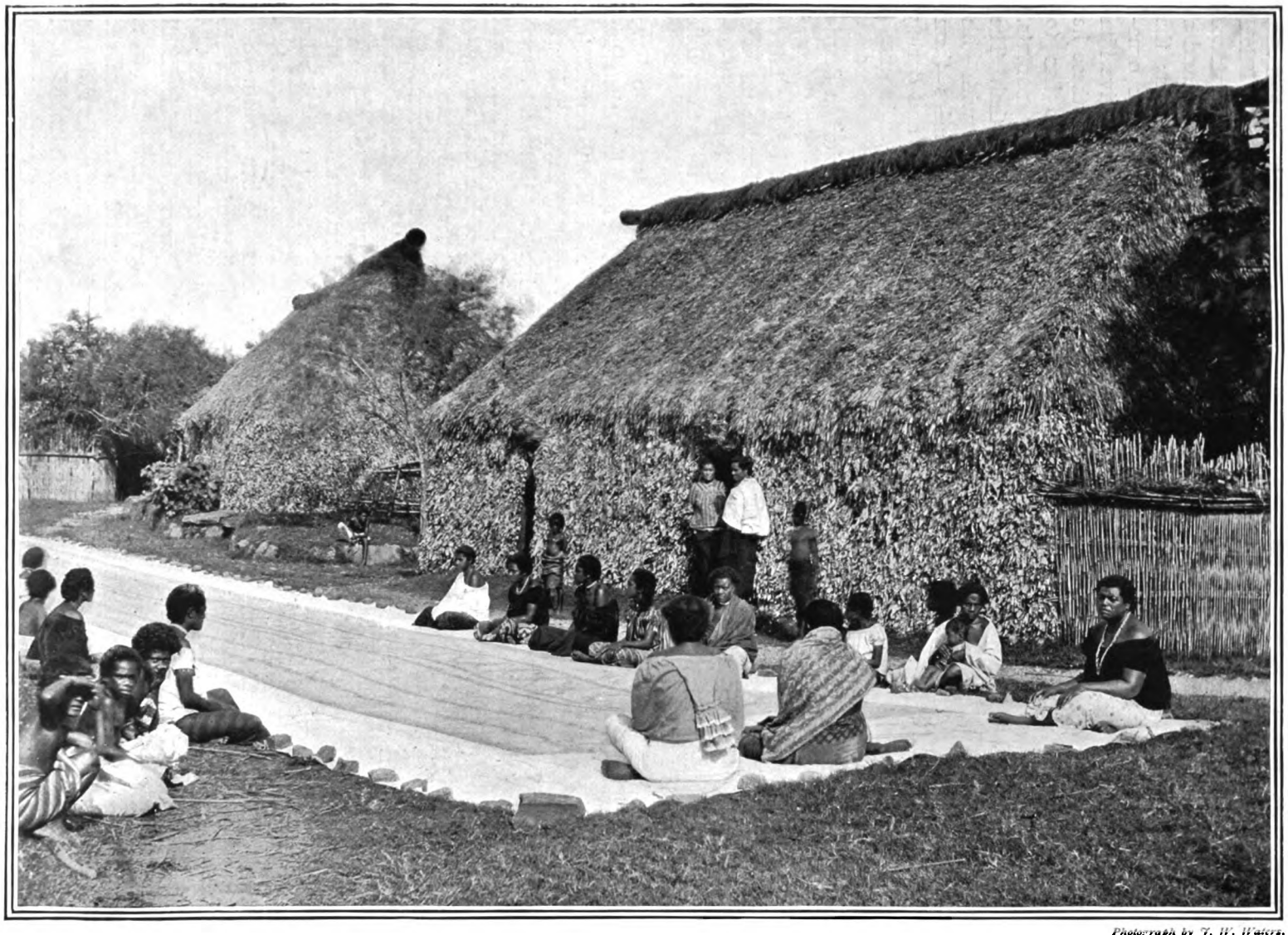

TAPA PAINTING IN FIJI IN FRONT OF NATIVE HUTS.

Photograph by J. W. Waters.

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man's parents, together with presents, and there is much feasting and dancing in honour of the bridegroomless wedding. When all the food is consumed, the girl's relations go home, leaving her behind, and the bridegroom is searched for in the bush, and he returns happily when all is over.

MAN AND WOMAN FROM THE NEW HEBRIDES.

It is a general custom throughout the world that the man proposes marriage to the woman, but in parts of Melanesia the positions are reversed, and the girl has to take the first step, and make a proposal of marriage to the man.

Woman Proposes.

Among the Sulka of New Britain the girl chooses her future husband for herself. She "lays her heart on the man of her choice," as they say. Her father, or other near relative in whom she confides, says to her, "Wait, we will invite him here, so that he may work for you." Then the mediator goes to the young man, conveying the proposal of marriage. If he be willing he is brought to the bride's home, and she, at his entrance, presents him with baked taro and a neck ornament. The acceptance of these constitutes an engagement, and a general exchange of presents ensues; the bridegroom gives the neck ornament to his parents, who give him presents in return, and these he gives to the bride, who has to bestow them on her parents. This is the private betrothal. The young man remains with his bride's family, and helps them by working for them, and during this time a plantation is made for the young couple.

When this is finished, a day is appointed for the ceremonial handing over of the girl by her father to her future husband, and this is a feast day for all the villages round. This constitutes the public betrothal.

So far the girl seems to have had the best of it, but then her trials begin. From henceforth, until the wedding day, she has to live the life of a hermit. She is shut up in a little cell at the back of the house of her future parents-in-law, together with some young girls, her sisters or nieces. She may not eat taro baked between stones, flesh, fish, or certain fruits, or drink water. She may not cook her own food, or even feed herself. The girls who are with her prepare the taro, baked on the fire, and feed her by putting pieces into her mouth. She has to avoid the sight of men, and if she goes out she wears a long cloak of banana leaves down to the ground, and whistles all the time, so that men shall keep out of the way. During this period of seclusion she is decorated with scarifications, either incised with obsidian or burnt with midribs of coco-nut leaves by women specially paid for their work by the bridegroom. He meanwhile is building his house. When all these preparations are over the wedding day is announced, and there is much feasting,

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dancing, and singing, after which the young pair go away to their new home.

Ambrym Girls Exchanged for Pigs.

The most pathetic description of marriage in Melanesia comes from Ambrym (New Hebrides). Here a girl is sold for pigs almost as soon as she can toddle, five or six pigs being paid in instalments. At an age between seven and ten the child-wife is delivered over to her purchaser, possibly an old chief. Sometimes she is allowed to remain with her parents until she is twelve, then, with tears and much crying, she is carried off to her husband's village. This may have to be done several times, and the whip, or even severer means, may be used to enforce obedience.

Marriage a Matter of Commerce.

The essential part of marriage, as has been seen, consists in the payments made to the family of the bride in compensation for her loss, and the commercial aspect is the most prominent feature throughout Melanesia, for the feasting and dancing which accompany all orthodox weddings are also part of the bargain, and the families and friends on both sides contribute towards the expenses, as in civilised communities. Every man or woman is expected to marry, and economic and social conditions discourage independence in bachelor or spinster. As a rule only those men who are too poor to marry remain single, and only those women are unappropriated whose parents demand too high a price for them.

In 1901 the *Vaukolu* (Parliament) of the Florida Islands (Solomons) met to discuss the price of wives. Women were so dear that only rich men could afford to marry, which resulted in a great deal of unhappiness. A native had sold his daughter for 150 strings of shell money and 1,000 porpoise teeth, and as he was a Christian and a teacher it was felt that his cupidity should be rebuked. At the meeting a resolution was proposed by a chief that no one should pay more than thirty strings for a wife, unless both bride and bridegroom belonged to a family of chiefs, in which case the price might rise to fifty strings. The resolution was carried, but the women were very

FAMILY GROUP FROM THE NEW HEBRIDES.
The woman has scarifications on both arms.

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angry at being thus cheapened, and would not speak to the men for some time afterwards.

In the New Hebrides, where pigs form the currency, a wife may be bought for ten to twenty pigs, according to her capacity in the yam patch. Beauty has little market value, true worth (*i.e.*, industrial capability) being of more importance in the eyes of match-making parents. On the north-west coast of Vate, however, the æsthetic sense seems to be ascendant, for a wife costs ten pigs if good-looking, but only six if plain. In parts of Malekula, where pigs are scarce, a wife costs six to ten pigs, and this prohibitive price restricts all but chiefs to monogamy. In Tanna a wife can be bought in exchange for one pig, and pigs are plentiful.

In Eromanga semi-transparent circular rings of calcareous spar, five to six inches in diameter, and one and a half inches thick, are highly valued, and serve as currency. One of these, together with a spear or bow and arrow, constitutes the price of a wife.

The Loyalty Islanders, "*les Anglais du microcosme Calédonien*," are great shipbuilders, but their island does not supply the necessary wood, and they have to procure it from New Caledonia. On the other hand, Loyalty Island maidens are in great request in New Caledonia, on account of their many charms. So the Loyalty Island father paddles his daughter over to the mainland, and exchanges her for a cargo of wood.

In the Bismarck Archipelago the bride-price is usually paid in shell-money, but a wife may also be obtained in exchange for an iron implement.

It is interesting to learn how the wives themselves regard the question of payment. In Malekula in the New Hebrides it is, according to Miss Grimshaw's account, the one satisfaction in a hard existence :—

"'I cost twelve pigs,' Mrs. Frizzyhead No. 1 boasts to Mrs. Frizzyhead No. 4, who is a new acquisition, and inclined to be cheeky. No. 4, who is painting her forehead jet black with burnt coco-nut, and drawing a line of red ochre down her nose, pauses in her toilet to say contemptuously: 'I cost fifteen!' Mrs. Flatface, the sole joy of old Mr. Flatface, from the bush, here chips in: 'I cost twenty, and two of them were big, as big as a whale-boat from the steamer!' The Frizzyhead ladies subside, and wait till they can catch young Mrs. Blackleg coming up from the yam plantations, with a baby in her arms and a hundredweight of yams on her back, to revenge themselves by telling her that she only cost ten pigs, and is a low creature anyhow."

Under the influence of education the women are beginning to resent being paid for. One girl from the Banks Islands in particular was very proud of having been "given," not "sold." She said, "I do not like the custom of selling women like pigs. We are not pigs, we are women."

In many cases the price asked for a girl is merely "bluff," and the impecunious Lochinvar runs off with the damsel of his choice, and the irate father-in-law is pacified afterwards by a feast and a present.

Polygyny.

Since matrimony is thus regulated by financial considerations, polygyny becomes a luxury that can only be afforded by the rich and the elder men. Many men do not desire more than one wife, either on account of the real affection and esteem which grow up in most cases between a married pair, or else because they fear the discord that polygyny engenders, for a great number of wives is in all the islands a fruitful source of quarrels and bloodshed.

A peculiar custom obtains in Aoba (New Hebrides), where a man who has a young wife takes an older woman, generally a widow, for a second, to look after the first. Often, where a man is accredited with many wives, they are not of his own choosing. The custom of the levirate obtains throughout Melanesia, that is, the wives left by a man at his death are looked upon as family property, and pass to his relations, usually a brother or nephew. Therefore, as a man advances in life, and survives his male kinsfolk, the widows of his brothers,

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maternal uncles and cousins, tend to accumulate round him. Though these would all be his nominal wives, he is not the husband, probably, of more than two or three younger women, whom he has chosen for himself.

Owing to the custom of infant betrothal, a man often has his first wife chosen for him by his relations, and, as he grows older, and he and she together have amassed sufficient wealth, he selects a young wife for himself. This is often the bitterest tragedy of a woman's life, and it may result in the first wife putting an end to herself by poison.

In New Britain a special ceremony marks the relationship between the first and the second wife. On the second day after the new wife has been bought, the two wives fight or wrestle in public for two days. It is practically a sort of game, but it may entail hearty thumps, and the spectators thoroughly enjoy it. The two wives are painted red all over, and they go down to the sea-shore, and each tries to throw the other into the water. This is supposed to drive away any jealousy between the two. Generally the first wife rules the household, and, if the new-comer is too troublesome, she is sent back to her relations.

EPA.

A Christian convert from Pilene, Reef Islands.

The advent of a new wife may cause great distress.

Mal, a chief in Ambrym, had three wives, and the favourite was Botingi, a handsome girl, to whom he was much devoted. But one day he took a fourth wife, a young girl of about twelve. At the marriage feast or reception Botingi had now to put out her own fire, and, taking an ember from the dying coals, creep along on her knees and light with it the fire of the young bride. It was terribly significant of a dead affection.

The Question of Morals.

People are apt to regard Melanesia as a savage and lawless area where a very low code of morality prevails, "where there ain't no Ten Commandments," and more especially no Seventh. But there are perhaps few lands where adultery is more severely punished, while, as a rule, chastity before marriage is most strictly insisted on, and lapses are punished with death. The girls are generally watched and guarded very carefully, especially when betrothed, as their marketable value may be endangered by lack of surveillance. This is not always the case, for in parts of the Solomons the value of a girl is held to be enhanced if, on attaining maturity, she has distributed her favours freely to all comers. But should one of her lovers desire her in marriage, she becomes his sole property, and settles down as his faithful wife.

Considerable license is also permitted in other parts, and sometimes there is no supervision over the girls. Probably in all the islands there are certain families which are always well-conducted, and others where no particular standard of morality is set up, but the latter would always be held in lower estimation.

In New Britain any unfaithfulness on the part of the wife is severely punished; the woman is immediately speared, and the man, if caught, is beaten, and has his neck twisted, so that he dies in great agony after a few days.

On the north coast of New Britain it is the man alone who is punished, and the strength of the desire for money in the New Britain native is nowhere more clearly shown than in the fact that it overcomes the jealous instincts of an injured husband. Vengeance is only exacted in shell-money, several strings being demanded. If this is

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not paid, the culprit's house is burnt down, and sometimes the houses of his neighbours, so that they shall assist in extorting the money. If this is of no avail, the houses of the man's relations are burnt, and their plantations ruined, until one of the family probably pays the fine.

In the Solomons an unfaithful wife is

A FIJIAN GIRL.
With native petticoat and bead necklace.

killed, or else she is tied to a tree, and every man has the right to shoot an arrow at her. Should she survive, she is cleared of all dishonour.

Divorce is easy and common, and a separation may take place at the will of either party, though a man finds it easier to put away his wife than *vice versa*.

If a wife is ill-treated, she naturally returns to her own family, which has to repay the bride-price if the husband demands it, so another marriage is generally arranged for her as soon as possible. If the marriage had lasted for some time the whole of the bride-price could not be demanded, as the wife would be held to have paid some of it off by her work. As a rule no efforts are spared on either side to bring about a reconciliation.

The commercial aspect of marriage, and the power of the husband over the wife are seen in the fact that a man may hand over his wife to another man, and receive from him the bride-price, but this is not of common occurrence. Generally husbands and wives get on well together, and the children form a binding tie for life.

Widows and Widowhood.

When a man dies his widow does not regain her independence. Since the wife has generally been bought for the man by his relations, she still belongs to the family, and the family still hold marital rights over her. She naturally belongs to her husband's brother, but in case he does not want her she may be handed over to an uncle or a cousin of the dead man, or the family may dispose of her to an outsider in exchange for compensation. A woman rarely remains a widow long.

In Uripiv, however, off the north coast of Malekula, there was a widow of an original turn of mind, and a person of great consideration. She had been the wife of a chief, and she refused all subsequent offers and lived independently. She dressed with great magnificence, and at dances painted her face like a man, and danced with the best of them.

Murder of Widows.

In parts of the Solomons a wife, especially if the favourite wife, generally commits suicide by hanging, drowning, or stabbing herself, on the death of her husband.

In the New Hebrides widows were usually smothered or strangled, so that they might continue their wifely ministrations to their husbands in the next world. The process had to be effected as soon as the man was dead, and the wife's body buried with that of her husband, otherwise their spirits might miss each other on their way to the land of the dead. A conical cap, made of spider's web, which was used for smothering the New Hebridean widows, is illustrated on p. 108. The women were by no means anxious to escape their fate, even where escape was provided by aid of the missionaries, and the fear of reproach probably restrained any show of natural

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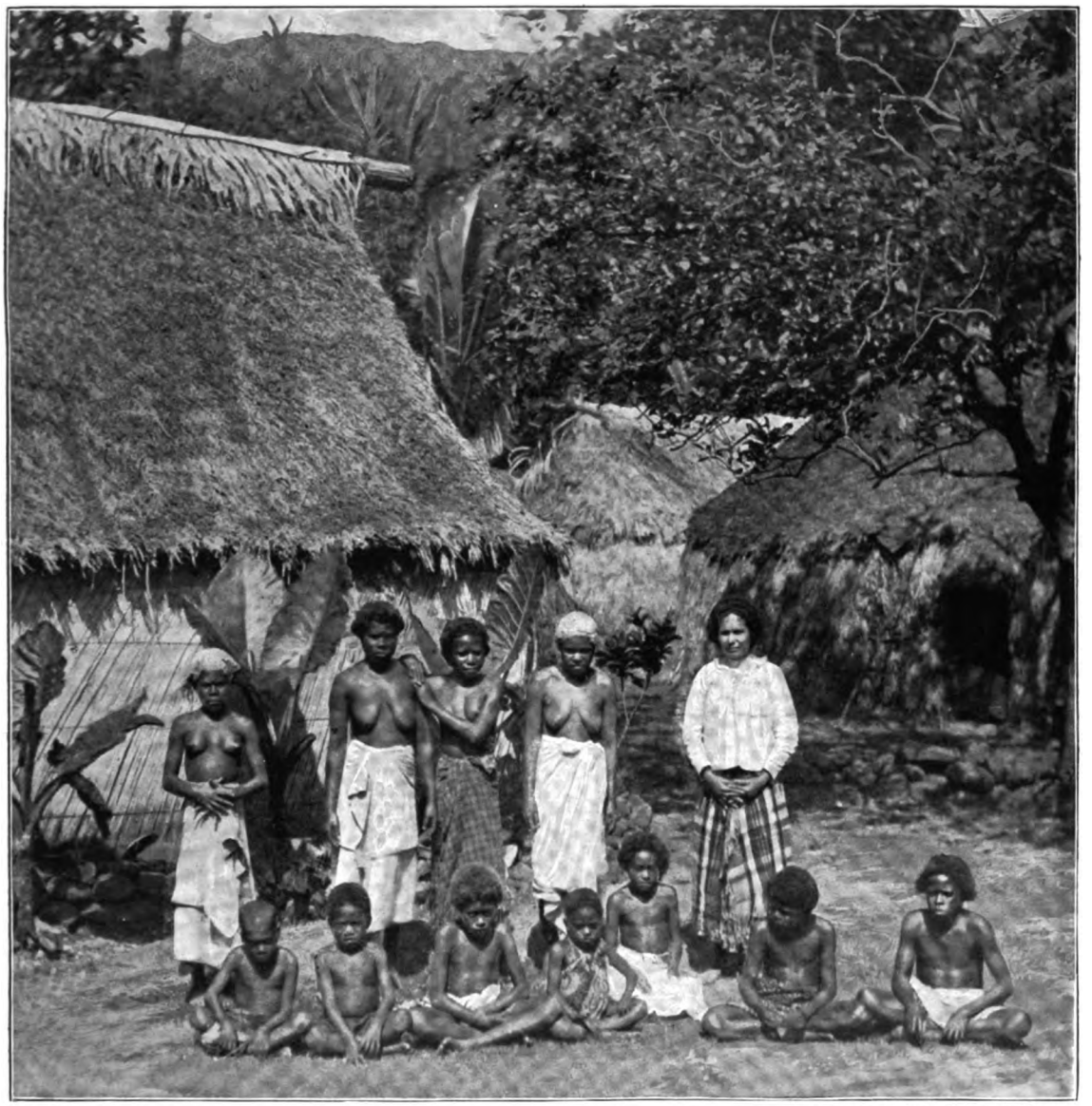
reluctance. This would be interpreted as a sign of unfaithfulness on the part of the wife, if not as a proof of her implication in the death of her husband, and she preferred death at the hands of her family (generally her son) to a life of dishonour and the risk of death at the hands of her husband's kinsfolk.

In Fiji widow-strangling is considered essential from the native point of view, for the following reason, described by the Rev. Lorimer Fison.

A man is not considered to have attained complete manhood in this world until he has taken to himself a wife; and the same holds good of the next. When he is dead he has to start on his way to spirit-land, and some distance from the starting place stands a tree by the wayside, and at this tree he has to throw the whale's tooth with which his kinsfolk have provided him. No matter how good his aim, he is sure to miss if his

Fijian Justification for Widow-Murder.



Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

WAITOVA, NEAR LEVUKA, FIJI.
Two of the women have plastered their hair with lime.

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friends have not strangled a woman to follow and tend him. If he hits the tree, he smiles a smile of satisfaction and goes on his way; if he misses, he proceeds a grumbling and discontented ghost. "Here's a fine state of things! Didn't I always take care of my father? Was I ever wanting in help to my friends? Why then have they not sent a woman after me?"

Photograph by H. Short.

CAP MADE OF SPIDER'S WEB.
(*Now in the Exeter Museum.*)
For smothering widows in the New Hebrides (*see p.* 106).

He has good reason for his discontent, for further on he has to pass a terrible guardian of the path, Nangga-nangga, who is utterly implacable towards bachelors, and who persists in reckoning every man a bachelor who comes to him without a female attendant. No excuse will serve, and there is no possibility of slipping by unnoticed.

The unfortunate man is seized, raised aloft and broken in two by being dashed down on a sharp-edged rock, but the ghost who is properly attended is allowed to pass.

This bachelor-hating guardian keeps a sharp look-out on women also, and demands a view of the marriage certificate, with which every woman who dies before her husband is carefully provided. This certificate is her husband's beard, which is cut off and placed under her left armpit when her body is being prepared for burial. When the ghost reaches Nangga-nangga, he asks, "How about your husband?" "His beard, sir, is this," she replies, producing her certificate, and she is allowed to pass.

Much devotion is shown by the widows of Malekula, who sleep on their husband's graves until their next marriage; while the New Caledonian widow carries about with her a basket, artistically woven, containing the skull of her husband, ornamented with odorous resin and scarlet seeds.

Old and incapable persons are usually put an end to by being strangled or buried alive; generally they are quite willing, and sometimes even clamorous for the privilege. It is interesting to note that in the Solomon Islands old men are put to death sooner than old women, since the latter are found to be useful to the community as scolds, to keep the younger men in order.

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III

The Position of Melanesian Women—"Mother-right"—Three Dominant Factors—New Calédonia—Women as Workers—Bismarck Archipelago—Solomon Islands—Influence of Women—The New Hebrides—Fiji—Malekula—Castes in Ambrym—General Remarks

"MEN must work and women must weep," so sang the poet of civilisation, but the Melanesian thinks differently. Women may weep—that does not concern him, but he recognises no necessity for man to work. "Women may weep, but women must work," better expresses the Melanesian philosophy of life.

The Position of Women.

But this is not so unfair as it appears, and it is founded on the primary division of labour between the sexes. Man is the fighter; woman the feeder. The man is responsible for the security of the household from attack without, while the woman reigns supreme within.

In a state of savagery, when warfare, either aggressive or defensive, is the normal condition of existence, the man is fully occupied, and all his energies are required for his daily work; but when the influence of the trader and the missionary have introduced the blessings of peace, his employment is gone. At the same time the domain of the woman is practically uninfluenced, except that her work proceeds more uninterruptedly than before.

Under these changed circumstances the Western man might turn his weapons of war into agricultural implements, and amass wealth by working in the fields with the women, and trading in the surplus produce; but the typical Melanesian is a eudæmonist rather than a Mammon-worshipper, his goal is personal ease rather than wealth. Work is not natural to man, and it requires a sufficient stimulus to overcome his inherent aversion, especially in an enervating tropical climate. His women provide him with sufficient food, so hunger does not rouse him to exertion, and he has no incentive beyond the mere pleasure in physical exercise. Therefore he hunts and fishes for his own amusement, and eats and sleeps and plays the rest of the day; and the civilised world is horrified at the sight of women employed as labourers and as beasts of burden to support their idle husbands.

It is a common statement that the place accorded by man to woman in his society is a gauge of the civilisation of that society. But, like many generalisations, it does not always bear analysis. The status of woman is determined by various factors, and of these the vague abstraction called civilisation is doubtless of importance; but anthropology shows that woman often holds a higher place in a savage society than in one that boasts an advanced "civilisation."

"Mother-right."

At least two characteristic features of Melanesian social organisation may be noted as indicating the by no means insignificant position of women. These are the so-called Mother-right, and descent of property through females.

Under the system of Mother-right, descent is reckoned through the mother, instead of the father, and the mother's brother (*e.g.*, the maternal uncle) is considered a closer relation to the children than their own father. This system is still prevalent, but it is giving way before Father-right in many parts.

The custom of descent of property through females goes with Mother-right. Instead of the woman giving up all right to property on her marriage (as in England up to 1882) the sons inherit through their mother, while the father's property goes to the children of his sister. He may transmit

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some of his personal belongings to his own children, but there is usually some recognition that their claim on him is only secondary.

In some parts the daughters have an equal share with the sons in the inheritance of land.

Three Dominant Factors.

"Human history," says M. Taine, "may be resolved into three factors—environment, race and epoch"; the same three factors determine the position of women, and they may be defined as geographical, anthropological, and sociological.

Thus it is not sufficient to say that the subjection of woman in Melanesia is merely the result of the brutality or laziness of man. A certain uxorious ferocity seems to form a race character of the Melanesians, and the climate generally encourages physical inertness; but these influences are less potent than that of physical environment, especially when it results in economic pressure.

New Caledonia.

This is particularly clear in an extreme case such as is exemplified in New Caledonia. First note the environment. There are no wild or domestic animals, and scarcely any useful plants in the island. Climate and soil give nothing without labour, and the resources are poor and unstable. Paradise, in New Caledonian theology, is a place where a man can eat when he is hungry, and can really cram himself with yams. The women of New Caledonia are generally considered to be the most unfortunate of all Melanesians. They are scarcely looked upon as belonging to the same species as the men, but rather to an inferior creation. A boy, as soon as he is born, has the same rights as a man, but women have no rights at all.

They are described by M. de Vaux as veritable beasts of burden. They clear the land, dig it, turn it, and carry enormous burdens of yams or taro to the villages on their backs. If you have any fatiguing or pressing work in which a chief has promised you assistance, he will send you a troop of these miserable beings, to whom one can scarcely give the name of woman. While the men, well-built, carry their heads high, spend much time on their hair-dressing, and walk proudly upright, these unfortunates have shaven heads, and are deformed and bent double by hard work, and grow old before their time. At twenty-five or thirty they look twice their age. Even hunger is not a sufficient stimulus to make the men share the labours of the women. "*Souffrir pour souffrir*," say they, "*nous aimons mieux avoir faim que de travailler.*"

It is easy to predicate the result. Professor Mason, speaking of the relationship between male and female in the human species, argues as follows:—"If one half of this species, the maternal half, in addition to many natural weaknesses, had been from the first the victim of malicious imposition and persecution at the hands of the other and stronger half, humanity would not have survived."

And the New Caledonians do not survive. They are a short-lived race, a man of seventy being a marvel, and they are rapidly decreasing. This is attributed largely to the poor condition of the women, who, physically and morally oppressed, cannot sufficiently nourish their children.

Thus it is seen that the degradation of women is to a large extent the result of environment, dependent on economic forces. Women are the comparatively weak members of the community, and are therefore the first to suffer under harsh conditions of life. Yet even in New Caledonia there is a brighter side to the picture, and the women are found to be not uniformly abject. In the question of marriage it was seen that the girl displayed a high-handed independence in choosing from among a crowd of suitors (p. 99). Captain Erskine was much struck by the freedom with which the women mingled with strangers, no restrictions being placed upon their intercourse. But the happiest time of their lives is that spent at the *pilou-pilou*, or *fêtes* at the annual celebration of the yam harvest and other

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Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

FIJIAN NATIVE GIRL.

Her hair is stiffened on the top of the head, and plaited out to its full length behind, each plait ending in a frizzly tuft.

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joyful occasions. Indeed, it is said that the main cause of infanticide lies in the unwillingness of the mother to be confined to her hut, unable to indulge in the enjoyments of the *pilou-pilou*.

The *pilou-pilou* lasts for several days, sometimes eight or ten, which are spent in speech-making, present-giving, feastings, dancing, mock fights and general license. Ceremonial invitations in the form of knotted coco-nut leaves are sent to guests, and special huts are prepared for their reception. Preparations are begun a whole year before the event is to take place, and the chief who acts the host is usually insolvent for two or three years afterwards.

Photograph by King.

FIJIANS CROSSING A BRIDGE.

For the women, the *pilou-pilou* is the occasion for a great display of finery, and marvellous dresses are to be seen among the wives and daughters of invited chiefs. This, however, is only in the daytime. In the evening these trappings are abandoned for their habitual costume, but they wear round their necks a little bunch of keys, attesting to the possession of boxes in which their treasures are stored.

Women as Workers.

The women of Espiritu Santo are described as among the most degraded in Melanesia, although their degradation has not stifled a coquettishness that is one of their marked characteristics. In this island, too, it is not infrequent to see the men carrying the loads, while the women walk unburdened by their sides. This is unusual in any savage or barbarous society.

Missionaries new to island life in the Solomons would meet a woman staggering along a steep bush pathway, bending under a load of heavy bamboos full of water, whilst behind her came her lord and master, lightly clad in shield, spear and tomahawk. "It looks bad," Bishop Selwyn said, "but it is really the better plan. The women *can* carry burdens, but they *can't* fight, so the men go to protect them, with their hands free of all but their weapons." Moreover, the feeling never seems to be absent that it is a reflection upon the ability and skill of a woman, however weak she may be, to have her husband bearing her burdens.

Economic conditions are seen also to regulate the position of women in the Bismarck Archipelago.

Bismarck Archipelago.

New Hanover, though small, is well watered and extremely fertile. The men there are as a rule monogamists, and the wife possesses a good deal of authority. The women are referred to on occasions of bartering, and the men cannot

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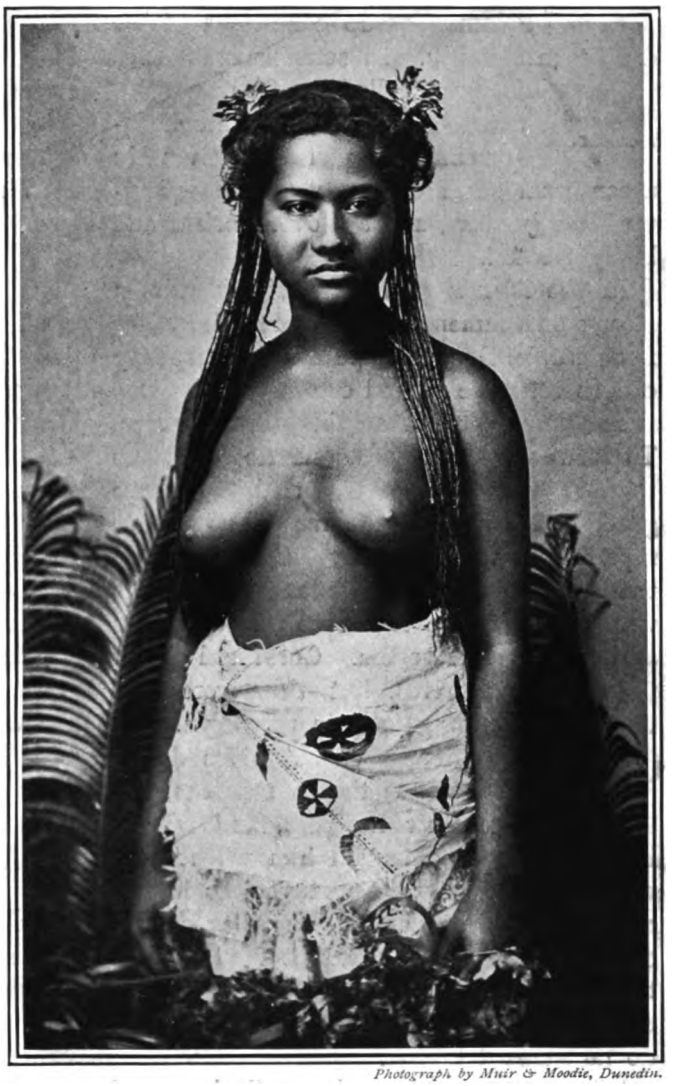
part with articles without obtaining their consent.

In New Ireland the soil is poorer and less well watered; conditions of life are harder, and especially hard on the women on whom the field work falls. In most parts they are heavily overworked and entirely in the power of their husbands. A husband may kill his wife without the interference of her relations, who give up all claim to her at the marriage.

In New Britain sociological conditions of a peculiar character have influenced the status of the women to a remarkable extent, and have raised them in some instances to a position of great trust and responsibility.

New Britain seems to form an exception to the greater part of Melanesia, from the fact that a sufficient stimulus has there been discovered to overcome man's natural objection to work. This stimulus is the love of money (*i.e.*, shell money), which is an overmastering passion, and though the root of much evil, it is also productive of much good.

One result is that it produces industry. The men are not idle. A careful student of manners and customs after living eight years among the natives came to the conclusion that, comparatively speaking, they were as busy as Europeans. "Only those who know nothing about the New Britain people will call them lazy."



Photograph by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin.

FIJIAN GIRL.

Showing method of dressing the hair before marriage.

Another result, and one of great importance to the women, is the establishment of the right to personal property. The woman keeps for herself the money which she earns by her labours, and a wife may amass wealth independently of her husband. Unfortunately this often arouses the greed of the man, who seeks to get possession of the hoard. Force may not be used, that would be an invasion of the rights of property and an offence against the public conscience. "The husband perhaps gets up a charge of adultery against his wife, he becomes very angry, and threatens to do her bodily harm unless she pays him so much money. Often she is charged with saying something derogatory to him. She is then made to pay for 'defamation of character.' She pays often to escape bodily harm at the hands of her husband. Often the charge is true, but often it is not. In either case the husband gets the money."

Still, the right to possess individual property marks a very real social advance, and leads to independent action on the

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part of the New Britain women. They enter into business engagements, and sell land without consulting their relations, who may even seek unavailingly to restrain them.

Solomon Islands.

In the Solomon group conditions of life differ considerably. In some islands there is practically no firm government, and fighting and head-hunting keep the natives in a continual state of unrest. The women tend the gardens, and are over-worked and badly treated.

In the islands of Bougainville Straits a strong government was established by the famous chief Gorai, and peace and prosperity came with more settled conditions.

The women, as usual, gain by the advance. They are better treated, and less of slaves than on the other islands, and they have great influence over the men. Wives are still looked upon as a working staff, and the main objection to missionary principles was the reluctance to reduce their numbers and diminish the profits. Gorai had eighty to a hundred wives, but they were well treated and enjoyed certain privileges.

In Bougainville the chiefs' wives do no field work. They are the companions, not the slaves, of their husband, and remain in the house to entertain him when he is at home, and are clever at various handicrafts. Some superintend the plantations, to see that there is sufficient food for the households, but, unless the husband himself condescends to work in the fields, the wives do no manual labour.

Without leisure there is small chance of advancement in civilisation, and it is noticeable that in the Solomon group certain arts and crafts practised by the women attain their highest expression. As has been mentioned, it is only here that bark cloth is made, but its unpopularity is scarcely surprising, for it is the most unsuitable material for garments in the wet climate. All the women and girls do plait work with grasses and strips of coco-nut and Pandanus leaves, adding dyes of native production. Mats for sleeping, for clothes, for ordinary occasions, and for protection from the rain, baskets and wallets, neck, arm and waist belts, reach a high level both in art and workmanship, and the women who excel enjoy great distinction, and make much money. The bead work of the Solomons, another feminine handicraft, also shows great skill and æsthetic appreciation.

Influence of Women.

The influence of the women has often been noted by travellers. Romilly says: "If an old woman once calls you 'her child,' she can be depended on to help you to the utmost of her ability, and would give you a timely warning were mischief intended." Often a present to an old woman is more effective than all persuasive arts. This influence may be due to esteem, but it more probably rests on the fear of magic with which women, and particularly old women, are so generally credited; for in a grade of culture where fear is the strongest deterrent to force, the mystery which surrounds a woman is often her most effective protection. In the Loyalty Islands the women are said to be on equal terms with the men, and to be most honourably treated. The slander of a woman's character would be considered a justifiable cause of a quarrel between two tribes.

Possibly both in the Solomons and the Loyalty Islands the gentler attitude towards women is due to the racial factor, for there is reason to assume Polynesian influence in both groups.

In the New Hebrides.

In the New Hebrides the geographical factor is again dominant. The climate is as a rule very unhealthy, and in some of the islands the natives live in daily dread of malaria. The life of the women is generally a hard one, and they are practically slaves. The field work and all the other work is done by the women, while the men fish or hunt, and when they fish from canoes the women do the paddling.

Miss Grimshaw describes the Malekulan women as bent and misshapen with the

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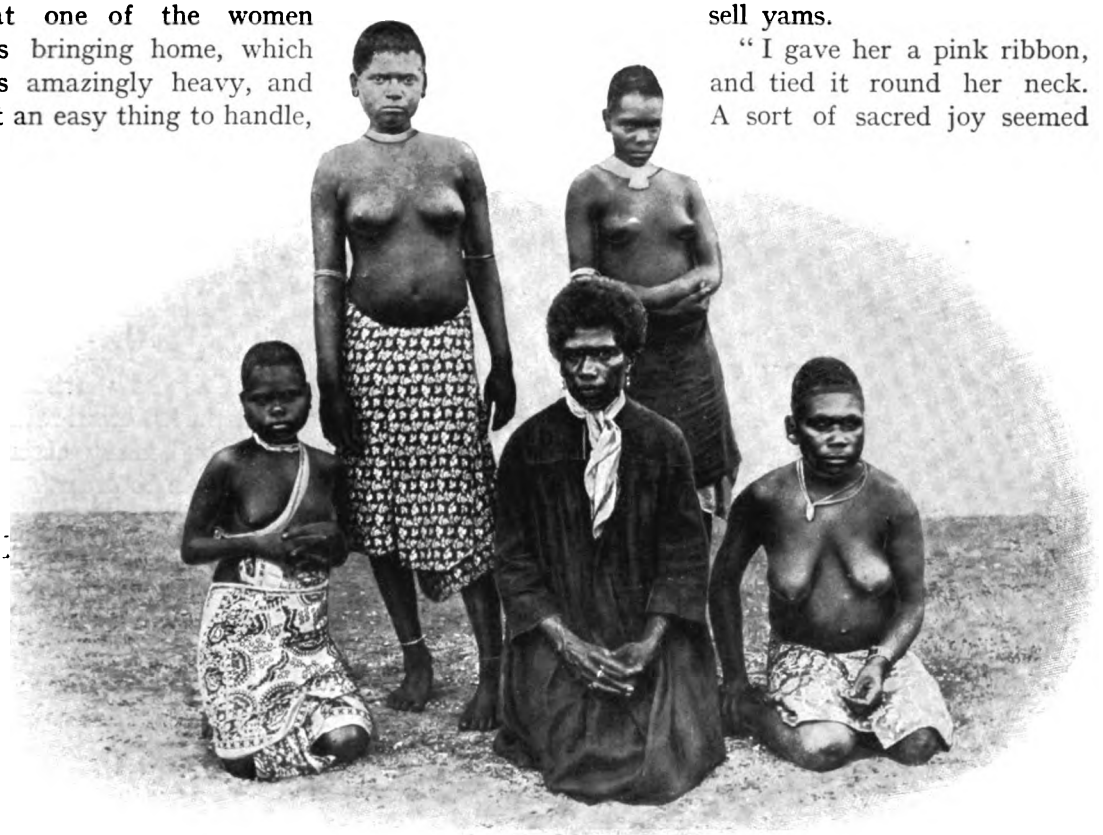
enormous loads they are obliged to carry, and with an expression if possible more degraded than that of the men, who were "the most ill-looking crew" she had ever encountered. She tells how she took up a basket of yams that one of the women was bringing home, which was amazingly heavy, and not an easy thing to handle, from its irregular shape. Her maladroitness in handling the yam basket appeared to be a great joke to the Malekulan husbands, or, as described by one of the boys in pigeon English, "All a Malekula man he say—'That fellow Mary (*i.e.*, woman) he no savee carry yam,' he plenty laugh," which, being translated, means, "What sort of a woman is this—what use is she, that she cannot carry yams?"

Malekula.

The life of the women is one of hard work. Pleasure of any kind is unknown to them. There is nothing for them to enjoy from the Pandanus plait cradle, slung over the mother's shoulder, to the grave, which is only a hole scratched in the surface of the earth, if indeed anyone takes the trouble to bury the poor little corpse at all.

The same writer tells of the effect of a present on a bush woman of Malekula, who had come down to the mission-house to sell yams.

"I gave her a pink ribbon, and tied it round her neck. A sort of sacred joy seemed to overflow her whole countenance and lift her far above things of common earth. She seemed to feel ennobled and exalted by this wonderful thing that had happened. That she should have had something given to her—she, a woman!—and that it should be this marvellous piece of loveliness, this nameless thing of beauty! Surely the skies were going to fall! She was all one ecstatic smile until she went away, evidently treading on air and feeling six inches taller; and I was glad to know that her husband could not take the treasure away from her, as anything that had been worn by a woman might never afterwards



Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

TEACHER AND NATIVE GIRLS, SOLOMON ISLANDS.

The girls are wearing the *sulu*, a picturesque compromise between native and European costume.

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Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

A GIRL OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS.

be allowed to disgrace the form of the superior sex."

Castes in Ambrym.

The most striking feature in connection with female sociology in Melanesia is found in Ambrym, where the women have organised themselves into castes or grades of rank like those of the men. The men are divided into ten grades, starting from the common folk, who are of no rank at all. By influence, and payment of a certain number of pigs, admission to the organisation is obtained, and a man gains the status of *Berang*, the lowest step in the social ladder. By increasing influence and successive payments a man may slowly climb the hill of ambition until he reaches the topmost throne of the *Mal*.

The women's organisation is on the same plan, but it contains only eight divisions of rank. It is significant that the topmost grade of the women's social ladder is that of *Berang-vir*, which is the lowest rung of that of the men. So that the best that can be said of the most influential and distinguished of the women is that she is on a level with the lowest rank of men.

One of the native customs of Ambrym compels a woman on meeting a man to kneel down and crawl past him on all fours. To this peculiar form of showing respect to the "lords of creation" Miss Grimshaw attributes the fact that the Ambrym mission hospital has had many cases of housemaid's knee to treat.

Fijian Superiority.

In certain respects the Fijians represent the highest grade to which women have attained in Melanesia, and here all three factors, geographical, racial, and sociological, are clearly discernible.

The islands are well watered, well wooded, and on the whole healthy, the soil is fertile, and the vegetation luxuriant. The people are a mixture of Melanesians and Polynesians, for the route of the early Polynesian migrations of the fourth century probably passed through Fiji, and colonies from Tonga and Samoa are known to have established themselves in the islands some two hundred years ago, and their influence is noticeable in physical type, customs and language. Lastly there was a regular system of government under the chiefs of tribes; great deference was paid to rank, and religion was a form of ancestor-worship, with a firm belief in a future state. This gave a stability to society and an incentive to energy and enterprise, and produced conditions of life which the old men speak of regretfully as "the good old times." Among

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the upper classes the women held a high position. Mr. Blyth (late Secretary for Native Affairs in Fiji) says: "The chiefs treated their ladies (*marama*) well. Their wives were of as high rank as themselves; and it might have caused serious complications with the families or tribes to which they belonged if the ladies had been ill-used or degraded to menial work. As a rule the chief was kind to the common women of his household, in whatsoever capacity they served him. The Fiji chief of those days was often a true gentleman." Where conditions of life were harder, the woman, as usual, suffered first, and became the drudge. As a rule, if there were a heavy weight to carry, she had to carry it. In some parts of Fiji the women took their share in the hard work of the fields; but in other parts, especially in those influenced by Tongan example (for the Tongans did not exact hard labour from their women), the women never went near the food plantations either to plant or dig food.

The women, like all Melanesians, were skilled in plait-work and basket-making. On p. 1 two Fijian girls are seen at work, the one on the right making a mat, the one on the left a fish-basket. One of these baskets is seen in use tied round the waist of the girl from the mountains on p. 118.

Fijian dances also show Polynesian influence. The dancers stand or sit, and the dancing consists in rhythmical movements and gestures. On p. 119 is illustrated a scene from the Lakalaka dance, as performed at Lekimba, by Fijians.

The Fijians always had a strong sense of law and order, and everything is accordingly regulated by courts and councils, *Mbose*. It is a significant fact that the women have their *Mbose*, in which they decide and determine what is their part in any function. It may be they have to decide what food they have to prepare or what property they shall give at some festival; but whatever the business, they always meet and do their work conscientiously and well.

But that the true Melanesian attitude towards women is not absent from Fiji may be seen in the following anecdote, related by Mr. Blyth: "A few years ago a magistrate was being rowed down a river in a downpour of rain. Looking out he saw what he thought was an umbrella on

Photograph by J. W. Waters.

ADI CAKAHAN.
A Fijian woman of high rank.

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an approaching craft, and, on coming abreast of it, a raft was visible, made of bamboos. On the raft was an empty gin box, and on the box sat a native holding the umbrella. left hand. She was, in fact, dragging the raft up the river, swimming the while as only a native can swim. This woman was the wife of that man."

Photograph by J. W. Waters.

FIJIAN GIRL FROM THE INTERIOR.
With native costume and fish-basket.

The raft appeared to be moving up-stream, and yet no one was poling it or pulling it along the bank. After a minute's inspection the magistrate discovered a small black speck on the river, about a fathom ahead of the raft. This proved to be the head of a woman. She was striking out nobly with her right hand, and through her teeth was a rope fixed to the raft, and held by her

General Remarks.

Viewing the position of women in Melanesia as a whole, it can readily be seen that they lead no idle existence and play no insignificant part in social life wherever a certain amount of physical well-being is assured by natural advantages.

To begin with, there is the bearing and rearing of children, which forms no

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Photograph by J. W. Waters.

THE LAKALAKA DANCE AT LEKIMBA, FIJI.

Fijian dancing consists merely of rhythmical movements of the body; the dancers either sit or stand.

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inconsiderable item in an area where almost without exception every woman is married at an early age, where sterility is rare, and where lactation is prolonged for two or three years.

As a rule the woman has to do the greater part of the field work, though sometimes the men break up the ground. She digs, plants, weeds, and collects the harvest, often carries it to the store-house, and, if necessary, transports it to the market to exchange for other produce. She collects the food for the family from the gardens or the reef, prepares and cooks it, and fetches the water. For home work she plaits leaves and fibres for house furniture, baskets, clothes, etc.; where clay is procurable she makes the pots for cooking and for sale; and her deft fingers elaborate ornaments of plait-work, beads, feathers, fur, and an endless array of natural decorative materials.

Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

GIRL OF RUBIANA, SOLOMON ISLANDS.
With characteristic shell armlets.

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MICRONESIA

By A. HINGSTON, M.A.

Geographical Position—Racial Type—Dress—Tattooing—Ear Deformation—Ornaments—Marriage Ceremonies—Polygyny—Position of Women

NORTH of Melanesia and west of Polynesia lie countless little islands, sometimes forming large clusters, sometimes occurring singly, whose diminutive size has given to the whole area the name of Micronesia (*μικρὸς* small, *νῆσος* island). The most important of the groups stretch in a large curve outside the west-to-south bend of Melanesia. The Pelew Islands, or Western Carolines, are 600 miles east of the Philippines, and they, together with the Central and Eastern Carolines, stretch over an area of some 2,000 miles. To the north are the Ladrones or Mariannes. At the east end of the Carolines are the Marshall Islands, and, curving down towards the south-east, the Gilbert Islands and the Kingsmill Islands, while Nui, in the Ellice Islands, marks the furthest advance of the Micronesians towards the south.

Geographical Position.

The islands are occupied by a very mixed population, probably based on an aboriginal Melanesian type, which has been constantly adulterated by subsequent infiltration of Malay, Polynesian and Japanese elements.

Racial Type.

As a rule the Micronesians resemble the Polynesians very closely, differing from them in being more hairy and shorter in stature, with longer heads, but great varieties are found throughout the area.

The husband and wife, slaves, belonging to the Pimlingai tribe, illustrated on p. 122, probably represent the dark aboriginal population of Uap (Carolines). This type was described by Captain Morell with some enthusiasm as follows :—

"The women are small in size, and very handsome, with delicate features and a dark sparkling eye, expressive of tenderness and affection. They have round luxuriant chests, slender waists, small hands and feet, straight legs, and small ankles. In short they seem to be, in every respect,

By the courtesy of Dr. W. H. Furness.

WOMAN FROM UAP (CAROLINES).

With coco-nut bracelets, flowers in her ears, and *Hibiscus* bast dyed black tied as a necklace.

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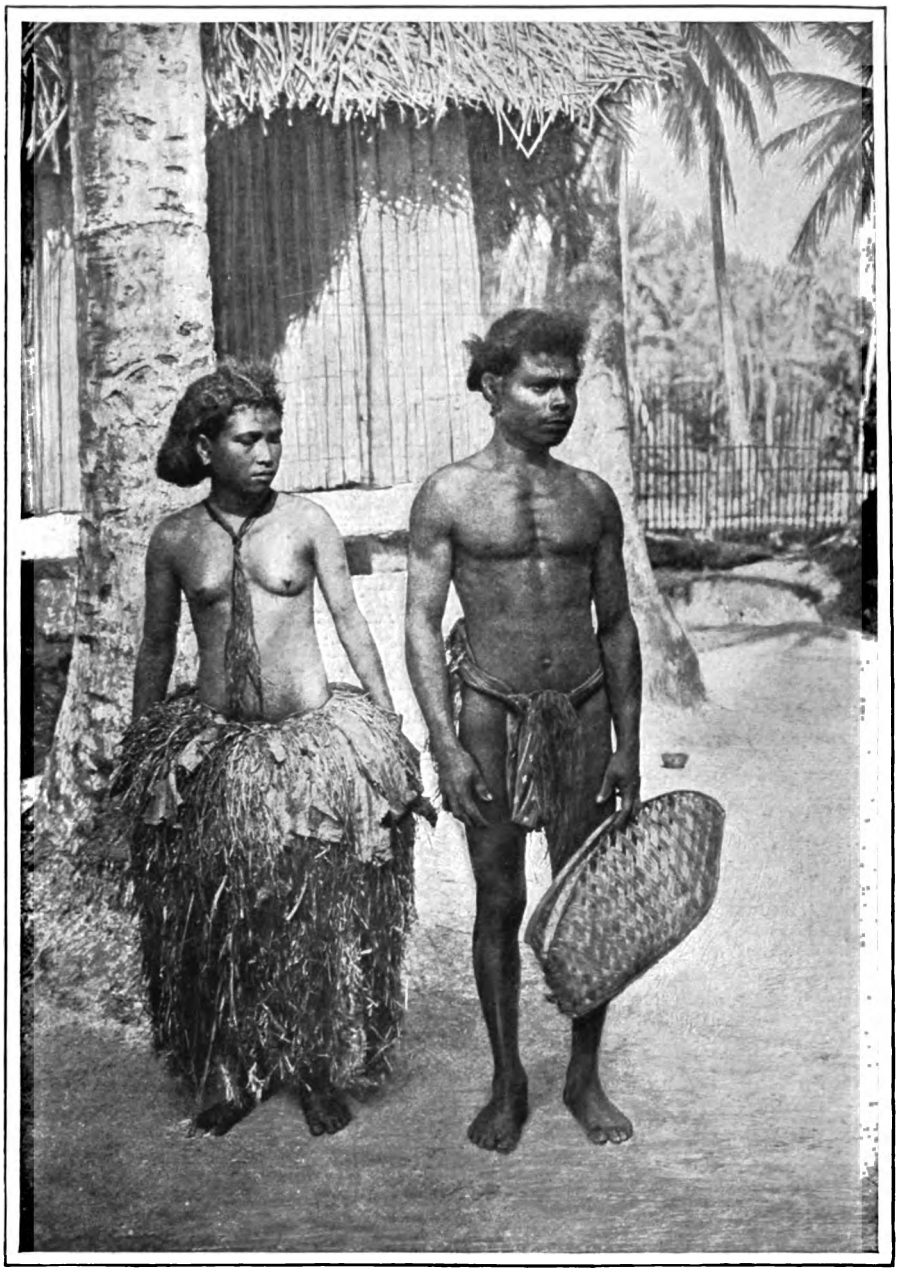

By the courtesy of Dr. W. H. Furness.

MAN AND WOMAN (SLAVES) OF THE PIMLINGAI TRIBE, UAP (CAROLINES).
Showing the dark aboriginal type.

admirably 'fitted for the tender offices of love'; and, setting aside our innate prejudices to certain complexions, their personal charms are of a very superior order."

But though the gallant Captain, when attempting to describe the fair Micronesian type, laments his lack of descriptive powers, and prays the reader to accept "the plain matter-of-fact observations of a seaman," he waxes eloquent :—

"A pair of long jet-black silken eye-lashes, with more than what we should consider a usual curve, are merely the drapery or window-curtain under which the soul peeps out from her palace through the crystal medium of a pair of bright penetrating black eyes. The women are of about the same size as ours, delicately formed, with very slender waists and exquisitely moulded busts. Their hands and feet are not larger

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meeting the mid-thigh, the upper adjusted so low upon the haunches that it seems to cling by accident.

In Nukuor and Ruk (Carolines) a *poncho*-like mantle is woven of banana and *Hibiscus* fibre, and a hole made for the head, bordered with shell decoration (*see* p. 128). The most highly prized article of clothing is a girdle of grass and lengths of young coco-nut, Pandanus or other leaves. split with a shell into strips of varying widths (pp. 122 and 123). That worn by the slave on p. 122 is made of grass and dried croton leaves, and constitutes the badge of an adult Uap woman.

The occurrence of the loom distinguishes Micronesia both from Melanesia and Poly-

By the courtesy of Dr. W. H. Furness.

TWO GIRLS FROM NORTH END OF UAP (CAROLINES)

Carrying their betel baskets, their indispensable companions, under their left arms. One carries on her right arm a bundle of turmeric, used as money.

of from fifteen to twenty-five strings of little discs of nut-shell ; 12,500 discs go to a girdle of twenty strings, so the labour and patience necessary for its construction are enormous.

In the Marshalls *tapa* mats are worn, reaching from waist to ankle, but bark-cloth is not found in the Carolines. The illustration on p. 126 shows the costume of one of the wives of a "king" on Jaluit (Marshalls), consisting of two woven mats, one worn before and one behind.

Skirts or deep girdles of woven grass are worn by the women from Ruk (Carolines), p. 127. The most characteristic costume of the Carolines is the full petticoat made

nesia, but it is not in common use. In Kusaie (Carolines) both men and women wear a girdle woven of various coloured banana fibres, and in Ponapé the same kind of girdle is worn, but the patterns are different, and the work is much coarser.

Tattooing.

Personal deformation consists in tattooing, and distension of the ear-lobes, with occasional piercing of the cartilage of the nose. Tattooing is generally merely decorative, and patterns are taken from the interlacing of the coco-nut fronds in the native baskets. Sometimes it indicates rank ; slaves are not

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allowed to be tattooed, and, in the Marshalls, tattooed cheeks are the peculiar privilege of men of high birth. On Nukuor (Carolines) women have to live for three months in a sacred house, and bathe ceremonially in the sea. before the operation of tattooing, which

By the courtesy of Dr. W. H. Furness.

WIFE OF A "KING" ON JALUIT (MARSHALLS).

Wearing a costume of woven mats, one before and one behind.

only covers a small part of the lower part of the body. In Ponapé (Carolines) a tattooed girdle is begun at an early age, and continued in patches.

Ear Deformation.

Piercing of the cartilage of the nose is not universal, but distension of the ear lobes is fairly common. In the Marshalls the hole is enormously enlarged, and huge Pandanus leaf rings are worn, but in parts of the Carolines only a small hole is the fashion, into which tufts of red wool, flowers, etc., are thrust, and from which ear-rings of varied descriptions depend. Typical ear-rings are seen worn by three women from Ruk (Carolines) on p. 127. These are made of white conch shells and the black tips of coco-nuts, and the rings are split so as to be worn on the distended lobe.

For some time after the ears are first pierced coco-nut ear protectors are worn, until the wounds are sufficiently healed. Dakofel, daughter of a chief of Uap, on p. 129, is wearing these picturesque appendages. Under her arm she carries her betel basket, and also a sheet of *Hibiscus* bark, which serves as a seat.

Ornaments.

Necklaces of shell beads and rings of various materials are common, and a bunch of *Hibiscus* bast dyed black is often worn knotted round the neck with the ends hanging down in front, as is seen in many of the illustrations. The wife of the Jaluit "king" whose portrait is on this page, wears a necklace of red and white shell beads.

Circular pieces of mother of pearl shell and turtle shell, and polished discs of conch shell strung on human hair, are common ornaments.

Long narrow wooden combs are characteristic of Micronesia. They consist of ten to twelve teeth, and are decorated about the handle with rich feather ornament.

Marriage Ceremonies.

In most parts of Micronesia pre-nuptial chastity, even though ten to twelve is the usual age for marriage, does not exist, and the marriage tie is lightly regarded. A feast, eating, drinking and dancing, which may be continued for some weeks, constitute the characteristic features of Micronesian weddings.

In Ponapé (Carolines) the wedding ceremony is rather peculiar. The bride is brought into the house of the bridegroom's family, and her prospective mother-in-law rubs coco-nut oil into her back and shoulders, a garland of flowers is placed

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on her head, and the ceremony is concluded by a feast.

Turner tells of a curious custom of choosing a husband in Arorae, one of the Gilbert Islands. The girl sits in the lower room of the house, and over her head are her lovers, who let down coco-nut leaflets through the chinks in the ceiling. She pulls at one, and asks whose it is. If the reply is not in the voice of the young man she wishes to have, she leaves it and pulls another leaf, and so on, until the right man answers, when she pulls the leaf right down. The happy man then remains, while the rest slink away. The young couple go to their respective homes and prepare for the day of feasting, which is also the day of their marriage.

The ceremony is performed by the father of either of them. The two bow their heads before him. He takes hold of their hair with one hand and with the other pours on them a purifying libation of the juice of the coco-nut palm.

Divorce is easy, since there is no bride-price to be reclaimed, and as a rule it merely consists in the wife returning, either by her own choice or by the will of her husband, to her own people. A visitor to Nauru (Marshalls) met a young man of twenty-four, who had already had eleven wives, some of whom had deserted him, and some of whom he had deserted, because they did not please their mother-in-law.

Nevertheless family life is generally peaceful and happy, and genuine affection often unites husband and wife.

By the courtesy of Dr W. H. Furness.

THREE WOMEN FROM RUK (CAROLINES).

With typical ear-rings of white conch shells and the black tips of coco-nuts.

Polygyny.

The possession of many wives is as usual the privilege of the wealthy, and is enjoyed by the few. A tale told by Louis Becke suggests that this system is not so repulsive to the wives as one might suppose. The story relates the romance between Jelik, the brother of a chief in the Marshalls, and a young girl aged sixteen, in the service of a German trader in the same island. Jelik made his ladylove a present of a sewing-machine, then a novelty in the country, and a keg of salt meat, bought at about five

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times its value, both of which articles the girl naïvely sold back again to the trader for a few dollars, with which she bought

Photograph by Museum Godeffroy, No. 510, Pl. 23.

INOAR, FROM ETEN ISLAND, RUK (CAROLINES).

Wearing a poncho-like garment. Her ear-lobes are distended by the weight of rings.

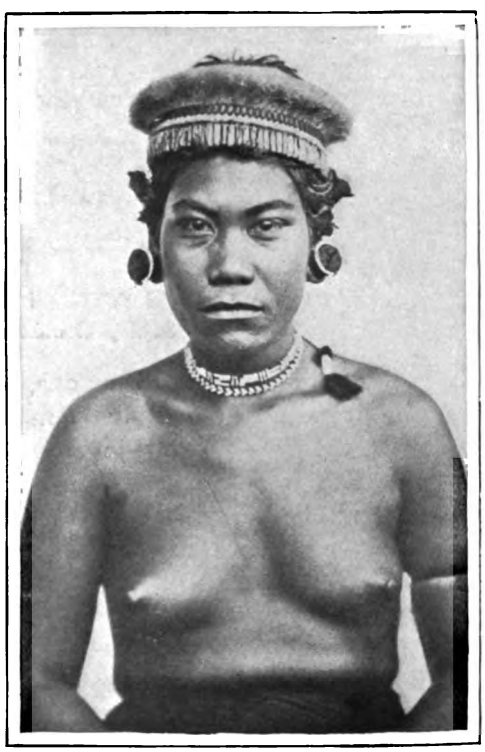
tobacco and a clasp-knife for her lover. Instead of being offended at the fate of his gifts, Jelik was much touched at these proofs of her devotion. The marriage took place soon after, and the bridegroom announced his intention of putting away his two other wives, whom he had hitherto regarded with much affection and respect. The bride, however, strenuously resisted this plan, and made a most eloquent appeal, saying she would at once return to her home rather than consent to such injustice, and begged to be allowed to dwell with the other two wives under their husband's roof, and learn from them her wifely duties. Jelik gave his consent to her request, and they all lived happily together.

The women are usually well treated. *Muqul*, or "bad form," is the most potent restriction next to taboo in the Pelew group, and it is "bad form" for a man to beat or abuse his wife in public, and punishable with a fine.

Position of Women.

A linguistic peculiarity of the Carolines suggests that women are not held in very high esteem. The word *li* or "woman" is prefixed to words to give them a bad significance: for example *li-kam* = a lie, *i.e.*, a woman's fault; *li-porok* = curiosity, *i.e.*, a woman's peering; *li-pilipil* = favouritism, *i.e.*, a woman's choice; but *li-mpok* = sincere affection, *i.e.*, a woman's love.

The position of women is doubtless influenced by the fact that as a rule they do most of the work. It is said in the Gilbert Islands that the men are in such fear of breaking the Sabbath by mistake that they abstain from work, week in, week out, unless under the stress of absolute hunger.



Photograph by Museum Godeffroy, No. 433. Pl. 17.

GIRL FROM PONAPÉ (CAROLINES).

With plaited head-dress of bast and discs in her ear-lobes.

Christian enumerates the labours of the women in Ponapé. They make the mats

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and shutters of reed grass, plait baskets, bind the leaves of the sago palm into bundles for the thatch, make leaf girdles for the men, compound the coco-nut oil and fish-oil, and mix the cosmetic of turmeric, without which no Ponapé dandy's toilet is complete. They fetch water in calabashes, light the fires, build the stone ovens, prepare the food and perform all the household duties. When required they cheerfully assist in the outdoor labours. They prepare the copra,* filling the sacks and loading the boats with the accompaniment of so much fun and laughter that an onlooker takes it more for play than work. Finally, in time of war, they fearlessly accompany their husbands and relatives into battle.

* Dried kernel of the coco-nut, from which coco-nut oil is made.

By the courtesy of Dr. W. H. Furness.

DAKOFEL.

Daughter of a Chief of Uap. Aged about 12.

Her ears have recently been pierced, and she wears protections of coco-nuts. (*See* p. 126.)

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ARUNTA WOMEN.

Showing headbands. They are usually netted of fine string, with close meshes, and smeared with red ochre.

AUSTRALIA

By N. W. THOMAS

Physical Aspect of the Aboriginals—Clothing and Ornaments—Aboriginal Legends Relative to Children—Birth Customs—Mutilation of Girls—Education and Recreation—Betrothals—Pre-Marriage Mutilations—Elopements—Marriage Legends—Magic and Marriage—An Aboriginal Idyll—Monogamy—Abduction of Married Women—Relations of Husband and Wife—Wives as Loans—Tribal Etiquette—Woman's Work—Domestic Habits—Food Restrictions—Women as Fishers—Troubles of Widowhood—Death—The Corroboree—Australian Witchcraft—Burial Customs—Present Position of the Aboriginal.

THE charms of the dusky belle of Australia have been sung, if at all, at most by aboriginal bards; for if the truth must be told, she is very far from being a belle when she frequents the neighbourhood of the white man and adopts whisky drinking and other civilised habits. In her native wilds she is a more presentable person, and Eyre, in his "Journals of Travel," goes so far as to say that he had met females in the bloom of youth whose well proportioned limbs and symmetry of figure might have formed a model for the sculptor's chisel. But such cases are the exception, for whether it be from centuries of the hardest labour or from a deficient appreciation of beauty on the part of the male portion of the community, or both, the Australian woman is seldom good-looking. Her charms, such as they are, fade rapidly at an early age, and both physically and mentally she is inferior to the sterner sex; in fact the women are disproportionately small, and their limbs are not so well formed as those of the men, who themselves are remarkable, in some parts of Australia, for the slight development of the lower limbs.

Physical Aspect of the Aboriginals.

The Australian woman is as a rule five

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feet high or a little more; her hair is generally said to be black, but whether this is not universally true or whether a liberal application of red ochre conceals the true colour, many of the specimens which reach England are rather reddish brown than black. As regards appearance, the hair is sometimes silky, but more often a tangled mass, matted with grease and ochre; it may be lank and straight or wavy and even curly as some of the illustrations show. The woman's head is usually easily distinguishable from that of the male; among other features the great bony projections are wanting above the eyes of the woman, though she resembles the sterner sex in the deep depression of the root of the nose. Her eyes, as the illustration on p. 144 shows, are often beautiful; they are usually dark brown.

VICTORIAN WOMAN.

Showing depression at root of nose. The eyes of the Australian are nearly always deep-set.

A catalogue of her ornaments in various parts of the Continent, of her modes of hairdressing, or of her clothing, such as it is, would be of little interest, and only a few points are here selected for notice. The inclement climate of the south compels the women to adopt some covering from the weather, and the opossum or kangaroo skin cloak was an effective one; the substitution of European blankets for it was a fatal error, and helped to extinguish the tribes of the south-east. Further north clothing is worn less for purposes of warmth than for decency, though native requirements in this respect are but slight. Observers have noted that in some parts the younger women were equally at ease with or without their narrow apron, though they objected to be seen at their toilet; in another case a white man hung a small mat apron-wise upon an otherwise unclothed girl, who was utterly unembarrassed in her natural state; her confusion when the "dress" was put on her was so pitiable that it was promptly removed again, to her great relief.

Clothing and Ornaments.

The apron or belt, worn in some cases only by unmarried or lately married women, is a fringe of opossum or other hair depending from a hair girdle. For decorative purposes armlets and necklaces, head fillets and pendants may be worn; nor must the nose-bone be forgotten, which on state occasions is replaced by a green twig. Lumps of gum or dog's teeth may hang from the woman's hair, and in some tribes the belle, got up regardless of expense, wears artificial whiskers, formed of locks of hair cemented with beefwood gum; these hang some two inches below the jaw. Sometimes a forehead net is worn; flowers or birds' down may also add to the effect; and a black or rather chocolate brown skin, polished with iguana fat, completes the toilette, save for the indispensable red ochre in the hair.

The Australian woman, like the rest of mankind, begins life as a baby; and as the uncivilised are curious above every creature on the earth, except perhaps the civilised child, and are given to inventing explanations where they cannot discover causes, the Australian black has much to say on the origin of babies. In the north of New South Wales on the Narran River they say it is the moon who plays the principal part in the creation of girl babies, and sometimes the crow lends a helping hand; when, therefore, a small black boy quarrels with his girl friends, he taunts them with this fact, regardless of their effective *tu quoque*: "A lizard made

Aboriginal Legends relative to children.

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you." But as women of the crow's creating have the reputation of being noisy and quarrelsome, perhaps the victory rests with the stronger sex after all.

It is somewhere on the Culgoa River that Bahloo, the moon, makes the girl babies; his work-table is a big stone, which lies at the bottom of a hole in time of drought, but at other times rises from its place and just keeps its top above the water. When Bahloo's share in the manufacture of babies is at an end, he hands them over to a birth-spirit named Waddahgud-jaelwon, and he hangs them about on trees to wait till some woman passes beneath; then they seize upon her and are in a fair way to make their appearance on the earth. If, however, the baby is to live, it must manage to find an earthly father too; those for which Bahloo, the moon, is alone responsible, are born with teeth.

Another way in which a baby may find a mother is by being snatched up in a whirlwind by the evil spirit Wurrawilberoo; and the woman thus discredited by her enemy may even in bad cases become the mother of twins. Needless to say, twins are not looked on with favour where life is such a hard struggle as in Australia; and even where they are born without teeth, the father refuses to recognise more than one. Yet after all the poor mother is perhaps guiltless, for do not spirit babies hang themselves in pairs upon a single branch of the Coolabah tree and cruelly incarnate themselves in one unhappy mother, who is thus exposed to the opprobrium of the camp? And to put its malice beyond dispute the first born of twins comes into the world with its tongue stuck out in mockery of its miserable parent.

By courtesy of Dr. Seligmann.

GIRL FROM CAPE DIRECTION.

Undress. Under ordinary circumstances few ornaments are worn.

Some unlucky babies hang themselves on trees beneath which there is no traffic; waiting and wailing for a mother they get on the nerves of the spirits, who transform them into mistletoe, and form its orange red flowers from the blood of never-to-be born children. Usually the spirit baby is newly made for each mother; but if a child dies very young, it may be reincarnated; and the babies that are pleased with their first mothers choose the same again, otherwise they are allowed to go to some other acquaintance.

In the north of Queensland the blacks are equally ingenious if less convincing in their explanations. On the Tully River a woman expects a child if she sits over the fire on which she has roasted a kind of black bream, or if she has caught a kind of bull frog, or if she has dreamt of having a child, or, finally, if some man has told her she is to have one; another tribe says that a magician tells the mother to have a child, and ascribe twins to the malice of the medicine man of a hostile tribe.

At Cape Bedford spirits in the scrub

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make the babies, which begin by being full grown; girls take the form of plovers to fly from their home in the west to their future mothers; arrived at its destination the bird is transformed into a baby, so when they hear the curlew at night, the blacks say "Hello! there are babies about." On the River Pennefather, Anjea fashions the babies of swamp mud, and before they reach their mothers they have to wander in the bush; when therefore a child has a club foot or any other deformity, it is clearly because it has caught its foot in a log in its prenatal journeys. Another tribe says that babies are made of Pandanus roots, and reach their mothers when the latter are bathing; happily this does not seem to hinder them from their ablutions.

Birth Customs.

As with the women of most uncivilised peoples so with the Australian mother, birth is an easy matter. Ceremonial regulations, based on the fear of evil magical influence, compel her to retire from the camp; she may stay away only a few hours, or custom may demand that she shall be secluded for eight or ten days. On the Narran River, where the babies hang on the Coolabah tree waiting for a mother, they are born with a leaf in their mouths, and the first duty is to take this out, otherwise it would carry the baby back to spirit-land; then hot gum leaves are pressed on the bridge of the baby's nose, to make it flat, for a thoroughly flat nose is essential to good looks. In some tribes the baby is washed or rubbed with sand, in others it is only smeared with iguana fat, and some powdered ashes rubbed on its head.

Sometimes the happy father announces the birth of his child by special messenger to all his friends and relations, who hasten to make him presents of shirts, knives, and other valuables. In the central tribes the father, together with his wife's father, maternal grandfather and great-uncle, is forbidden to speak after the child is born—if he broke the *tabu* the child would be injured; later the woman goes from her camp to her husband's and shows him the child, saying that it is his, and then he is released from his bond of silence. The coming of a little stranger is by no means an occasion of unmixed rejoicing, and, though a woman may bear six or seven children, she rarely rears more than two. The remainder are not accounted for, as with us, by a gradual process of semi-starvation, by doses of gin, or by any of the other numerous civilised methods of reducing the too numerous mouths in the family; a superfluous baby is put out of the way as soon as it is born, either by

By courtesy of Dr. Seligmann.

GIRL FROM CAPE DIRECTION.

Full dress. For a corroboree or other ceremonial occasion armbands, legbands, chestbands, etc., are donned.

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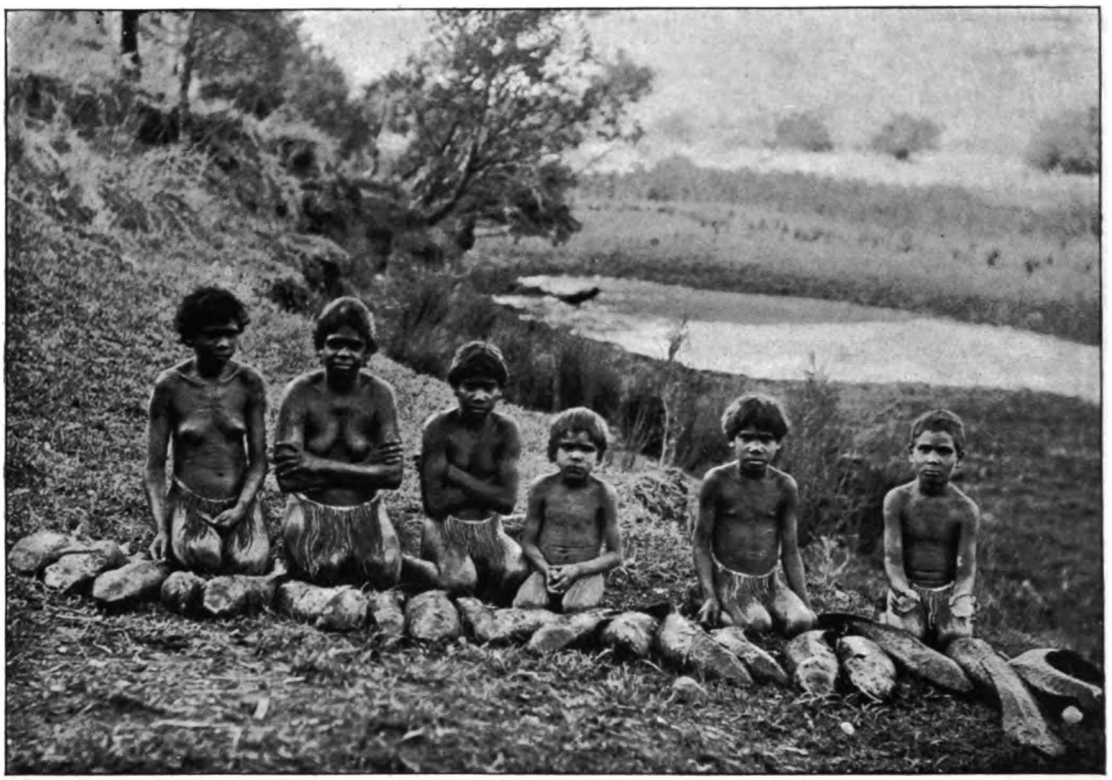
actual violence or by the less humane method of withholding all food; but no half measures are allowed. In many parts the corpse was eaten by the brothers, sometimes by the grandparents.

But it must not be imagined from this that Australian parents have no affection for their children; on the contrary, they are as fond parents as can be seen anywhere. They rarely chastise them, and a mother will give all the food she has to her children, going hungry herself in times of scarcity. They will endure abuse and even blows from their children, and finally suffer themselves to be coerced.

A young mother is concerned for the bodily development of her children, and for their character, no less than for their protection against magic. In some tribes, if a child woke at night, its mother would warm her hands at the camp fire and rub its joints that it might grow lissome and shapely. When the child began to crawl, she would take a centipede, half roast it in the fire, and then beat the child's hands with it, crooning a charm to prevent it from stealing in later life. A baby's mouth would be carefully closed, to prevent some magician from sending a disease spirit to trouble it, and all sorts of precautions had to be taken when magpies or crows were seen, for they are counted evil spirits.



WOMEN AND FISH.

Fishing with the line is the work of women; men use the spear; both sexes use the net.

Very young children are carried in one of the boat-shaped water-vessels; when they are older, they may sit on the mother's shoulder, holding on with legs and arms; they may bestride the mother's neck and cling to her hair, or she may wear an opossum skin cloak or a big round mat on her back, and pop the child into the pouch thus formed. A mother seldom sings a lullaby to her child, though she may make a droning sound to send it to sleep; she slaps it in the European fashion, and sometimes makes faces to frighten it; an approved method is to pass a string through the hole bored in the cartilage of the nose and pull it upwards. Children are often weaned very

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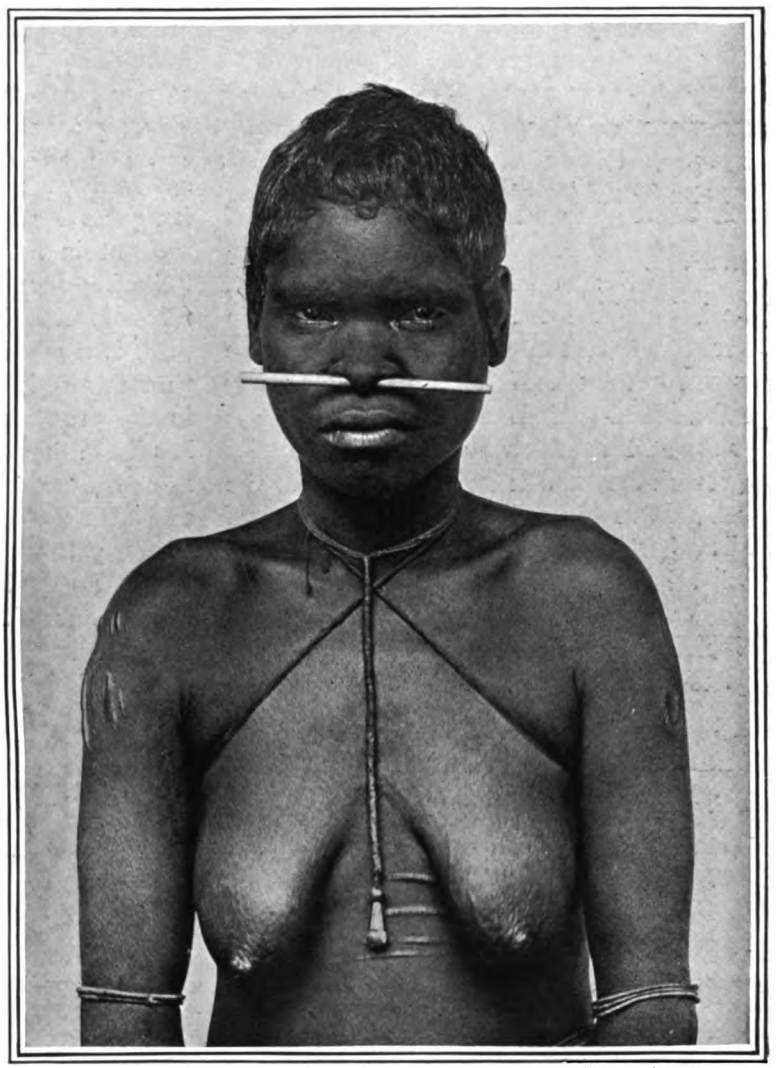
late, and two may often be seen at the breast at the same time. As they get older they enjoy a diet of honey, opossum, and kangaroo flesh.

Mutilation of Girls.

Mutilations of various sorts are inflicted on the Australian girl. Sometimes she loses one joint of her little finger, sometimes she has a front tooth knocked out in imitation of the men, more often she has a bone or feather thrust through the cartilage of the nose, and this custom once gave rise to a pretty contest of wit between white and black. A European girl asked why a black woman wore a bone in her nose, and said that white women did not do that. The black gin looked her censor up and down and fixed her eyes on her earrings.

"Why you make hole in your ears? No good that! Black gin no do that, pull 'em down your ears like dogs. Plenty good bone in nose, make you sing good. 'Sposin' cuggil (bad) smell, you put bone longa nose, no smell 'im. Plenty good make hole longa nose, no good make hole longa ears, make 'em hang down all same dogs!" And with that the old black went off laughing, pulling down the lobes of her ears and barking like a dog. In nimbleness of intellect the blacks can hold their own with us.



Photograph by King & Co

WOMAN OF NORTH AUSTRALIA.

Wearing nose-bone, chestlet, etc., with scars on the shoulders and chest.

The education of the Australian girl begins early, she soon knows how to help her mother in the quest for food, grubbing up roots, preparing yams, capturing small lizards, extracting larvæ from beneath the bark of trees, and, in some of the tribes, accompanying her on fishing expeditions. But even in black Australia, life is very far from being all work. Black children as well as white have their games; in some parts dolls are made of cane, split half way up to represent the legs, and the split part doubled to represent the knees. As the Australian is usually innocent of clothing in his or her youth, dressing dolls is a less absorbing occupation than with us; but sometimes pieces of bark are wrapped

Education and Recreation.

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in grass and made to do duty as dolls, and perhaps, if we only knew it, the little black girl loves her doll just as well as the best brought up child in England. Cat's cradle, too, is a favourite diversion, and not for children only; grown-up women take part in the game, and many of the figures pass through eight or nine stages before they are completed.

Betrothals.

But playtime soon passes away for the little black girl, and the serious business of life, wifehood, the only profession for women, is taken up. The baby girl is sometimes betrothed soon after birth, sometimes a little later; the ceremony may consist in decorating her head with swan's down, taking her to see her future husband, who is perhaps already a grown man, and transferring some of the swan's down to his head, at the same time telling her unconscious ears that he is to be her husband in fourteen years' time.

Pre-Marriage Mutilation.

But before she is married the girl who aspires to be *chic* and beautiful has to undergo various initiatory ceremonial mutilations. An old beldam takes the girl away from the camp, and as a preliminary plasters her with mud; then she lights a fire of leaves and makes the girl swallow the smoke, at the same time giving her advice as to her future conduct. The girl meditates on her lessons in private, and at most returns to the main camp once to see her betrothed; he must obstinately turn his back on her; so she throws leaves on his shoulders, and shakes him, then turns and runs her hardest to her solitary camp, which she only quits some time later to become his wife. The initiation ceremonies, however, may be more severe, and involve painful mutilations, which are fully described in scientific works. Among the least of them is the production of so-called "keloids" —raised scars on the body or upper limbs. When these are to be made the girl is taken out early in the morning, she squats with her back to her decorator, her head tightly held between the knees of an old woman seated on the ground. A male operator with a mussel shell makes cuts in rows across the back, a quarter of an inch deep, and an inch long; and as the butchery proceeds the blood streams in torrents from the back of the unfortunate girl, whose piteous cries rise, as the operation proceeds, into a yell of agony. When all is finished—the work may take a full hour—and the bleeding has stopped, the candidate for matrimony is smeared with grease and red ochre, two kangaroo teeth and a tuft of emu feathers are put in her hair, and she fasts till the following morning. But so strong is the force of fashion's demands—for a well-scarred back is a great addition to other charms—that few girls fought against the infliction in the pre-European days; sometimes one has been known to fix her teeth in the nearest available portion of the old woman, and with such vigour, that she has leapt up with a yell, while her captive, to her lifelong regret, no doubt, remains with a back only half decorated.

Elopements in Australia.

Betrothal is, of course, not the only way of getting a husband, for a girl may be bartered by her brother against another man's sister, by her father in exchange for another man's daughter, and so on; or she may be allotted to her husband by a tribal council, and neither of them may have any intimation of the approaching happy event till the girl's brothers take a piece of smouldering firewood to the bridegroom, and the same evening apprise the woman of the name of the man to whom she has to go. In some tribes the woman shows her willingness to accept her husband by making a fire in his hut, and it is a point of honour with the men to gain this mark of favour. Elopement with betrothed or unbetrothed girls is by no means uncommon, and the consent of the lady is not in any way essential. A young man whose fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love assembles a band of his intimates and they help him to carry off his bride, or he may take her single-handed. In either case he has to reckon with the anger of her family, for her male

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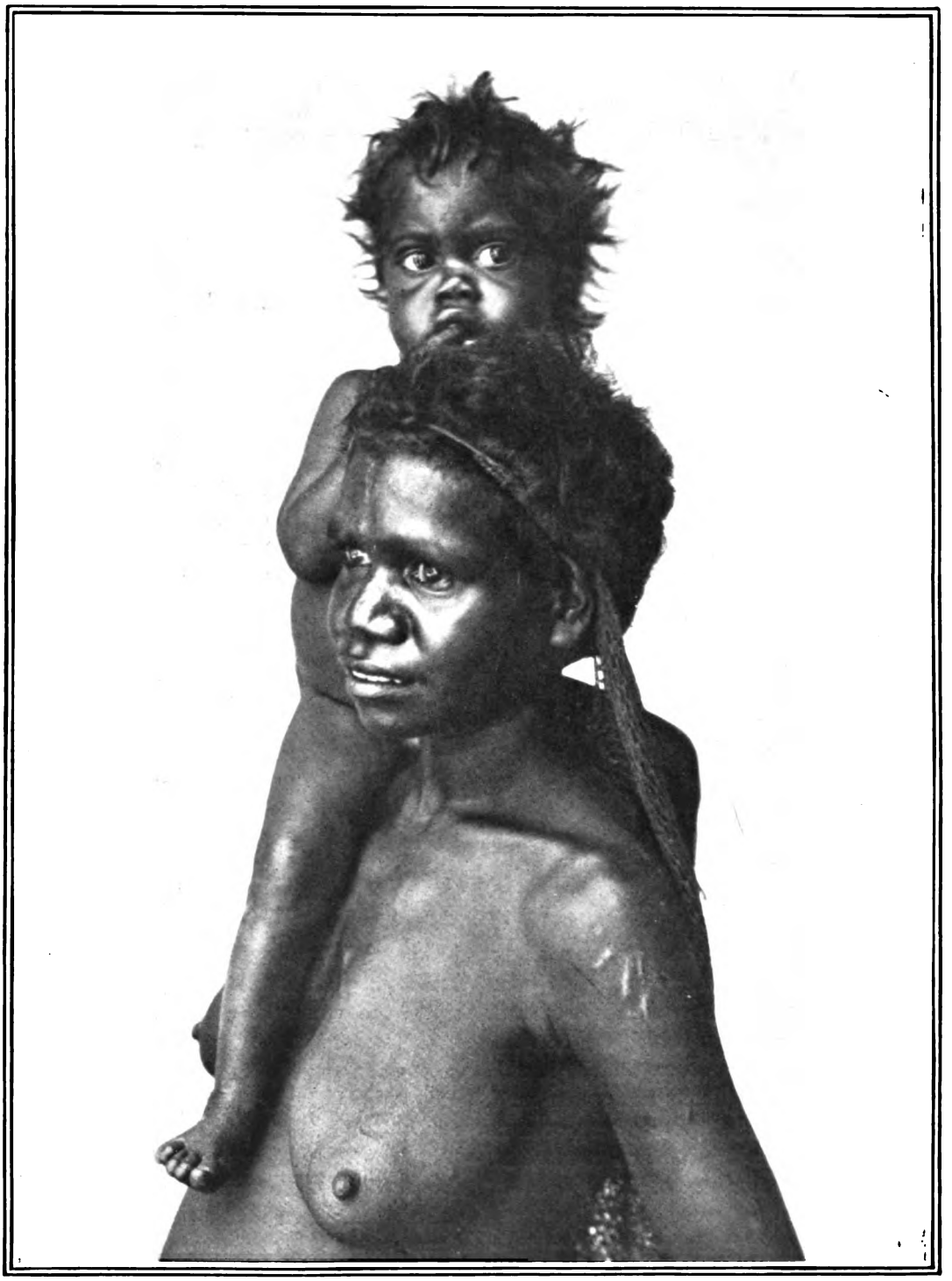

Photograph by King & Co.

AUSTRALIAN MOTHER AND BABY.

When children are old enough to hold on they bestride the mother's neck and cling to her hair.

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kindred pursue him; he may have to fight them or meet her promised husband in single combat, and she may be almost cut to pieces by her relatives, for of course the latter lose the woman for whom their sister would have been exchanged. In other tribes a milder custom prevailed; the eloping couple were knocked about, and the man gave a sister in exchange. The most serious fights take place when a man marries a woman to whom, by black marriage regulations, he has no right. Then the woman may be killed, and the man is attacked first with spears and boomerangs, then with knives; and even if he is the better man the lookers-on see that he does not have the best of it.

Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

WOMAN OF THE WORKII TRIBE.
Showing scars on chest.

One of the quaintest ways of getting married was practised in the south-east, where the males are believed to be the brothers of the emu-wren, while the women are the sisters of the superb warbler. If the young men were backward in coming forward, the women killed an emu-wren and showed it to the men, then armed themselves with sticks, the men likewise. A magnificent shindy followed, worthy of an Irish fair, and many heads were broken. On the next day the young men retaliated by killing a superb warbler, and a worse fight followed. When the wounds and bruises began to heal, a young man matrimonially inclined would say to a girl: "Djiitgun" (warbler), and if she consented to his wooing, she replied: "Yiirung, what does a yiirung (emu-wren) eat?" The man replied by mentioning kangaroo or some other game, the match was arranged, and they would elope on the first opportunity.

Marriage Legends.

In this tribe elopement was the recognised way of getting a wife, and magicians made it their business to arrange marriages by elopement spells, which, however, were performed in public, so that the whole camp knew of the coming event. While the girl's parents, lulled by the incantation, lay wrapped in sleep, the wooer crept up behind the girl and touched her with a rod; if she was ready she gave it a tug; and then nothing remained but for the young couple to run off.

Magic and Marriage.

When the father woke from his magic sleep, he too proceeded to work magic in order to find out which direction the fugitives had taken, and then set out to capture them. If the young couple got away and remained away for some time, perhaps till a child was born to them, all went well when they returned. But if they came back too early, or if they allowed themselves to be caught by a pursuing party, the sub-

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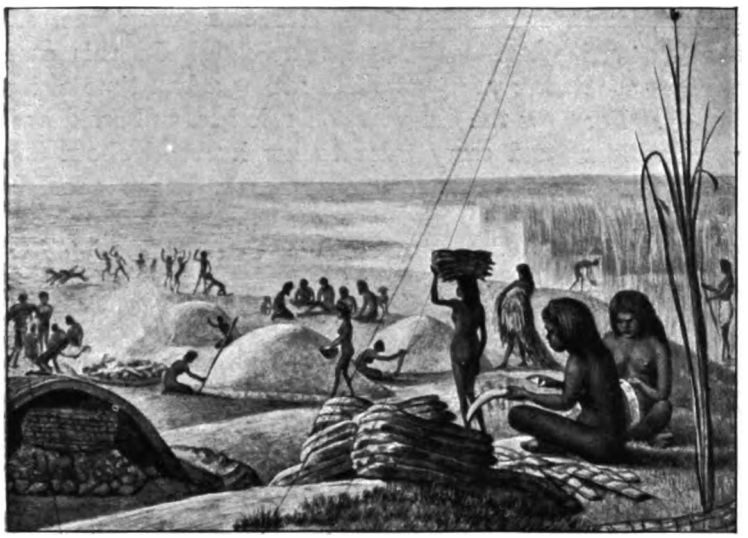

CAMP LIFE.
It is the duty of the women to collect wood, build huts, cook, etc.

sequent proceedings went very far beyond a joke. The girl was beaten with digging sticks by her female relatives, who had perhaps all got their husbands in the same way; and her father might spear her through one or both feet, to prevent her from running away again. The man had to meet both men and women in combat, and the latter tried to stab him in the stomach with their digging sticks. Last but not least the couple did not even have the satisfaction of being able to settle down to married life; for the whole business of elopement had to be gone through a second time. It says much for the depth of aboriginal devotion and the fervour of black passion that all married couples should run these risks, and if necessary run them a second time, in order to enjoy connubial bliss.

An Aboriginal Idyll.

In some tribes it was a point of honour for the bride to appear unwilling to join her husband, and even carry her resistance so far as to use her yam stick upon him, if she wished to be ultra fashionable. Some seventy years ago a certain man Wawgroot had been promised Kilbangarroo to wife; when the time came he already had one pretty *lubra* in his *miamia*, and she was sulky at the thought of a rival. Two hours before nightfall Kilbangarroo's father suggested to her that it was time to go to her husband, but at dusk she was still lying at her father's fire wrapped in her opossum skin, and pretending to be asleep. A hint by proxy—unmerciful punishment of a disobedient dog—from her sire had no effect and he began to raise his voice; an hour passed and still no result. Picking up his club her father gave Kilbangarroo a rude thrust with the point, and then she could no longer feign sleep. Sitting up, she put on a sublimely sulky air, whereat, letting fly a string of aboriginal expletives, her progenitor pushed his advantage. But still the maiden made no move, and the heavy *nulla-nulla* was about to descend on her head when the mother intervened, raised her girl

WOMEN DANCING.
The man on the left is using his shield to produce the music.

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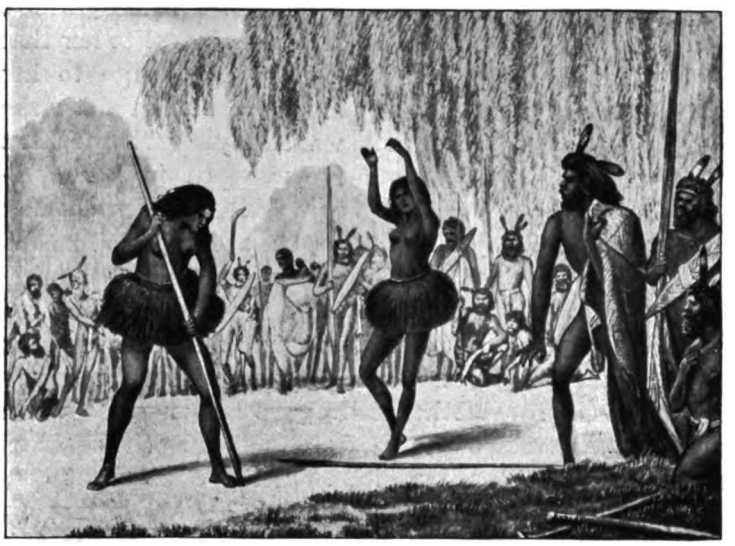
by the shoulders from the ground, and sent her on her way to serve her husband faithfully, if he could subdue her. But this is not always an easy matter. For the next day, in Wawgroot's absence, Mrs Wawgroot No. 1 abused her rival in her choicest Billingsgate, beat her soundly with her yam stick and drove her to take refuge in the bush; so Wawgroot, on his return, admonished his first love with his club in a way that would have fractured the skull of a white woman. In the end, when Mrs. Wawgroot No. 2 had received two or three severe beatings, the household settled down, and a year later even Mrs. Wawgroot No. 1 was getting fond of the new baby.



WOMEN ABUSING EACH OTHER.
Quarrels are frequent, and the first stage is a free use of "language."

As a rule the Australian male does not marry before the age of twenty-eight or thirty. In some tribes a wife would be cast off when she reached the age of thirty-five, and given to a younger man in exchange for his sister; for the young men are often trained up into matrimony by the old women, and sometimes have wives old enough to be their grandmothers. Conversely old men have very young wives, and as a man may have as many wives as he can get, there may be one old wife, one middle-aged, and one young one, all mated with the same man. In this case the young one has rather a bad time of it; for the old wife will rule her, and scold her, and carry tales to her husband about her goings-on with younger men, if she is foolish enough to speak even a word or two with one. Not only so but the young wife is not even allowed to bring up her children as she wishes, and leads a miserable life till someone abducts her, or the old wife goes the way of all flesh.

Monogamy.

It is by no means a recognised thing that a woman should cleave to her husband; on the contrary, especially if she is young and good looking (according to aboriginal standards), that is to say, plump and well favoured, she generally passes from master to master with considerable rapidity. This does not mean that she is always regularly abducted; for a man may take a fancy to some one else's wife, and challenge her lord and master to fight him for her; the latter does not accept unless he has good reason to suppose that he is the better man. If they fight, the winner carries off the aboriginal Helen, and holds her till a new champion enters the lists. A betrothed girl is watched with vigilance, especially if her future husband be advanced in years; but a young wife's lot is even harder, for her husband compels her to accompany him everywhere, whatever her state of health, and the barest suspicion of infidelity ensures her the most brutal ill-treatment—a crack on the head with a heavy club, or a spear through the fleshy part of the thigh or the calf are among the ordinary amenities of married life in Australia.

Abduction of Married Women.

Even where a woman gives no encouragement to her admirers, her lot is by no means enviable. Plots are laid to carry her off;

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AN ABORIGINAL WOMAN OF QUEENSLAND: AUSTRALIA.
DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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each of the combatants will order her to follow him, and her disobedience is punished by throwing a spear at her. Small wonder, therefore, that good looks do not bring happiness, for a beauty is soon scarred by the furrows of old and new wounds, her married life is as kaleidoscopic as that of women in some American states, and she may be carried off hundreds of miles before her troubles are at an end. Well is it for an Australian belle if she lives in a tribe where these rude manners are unknown or severely put down.

Relations of Husband and Wife.

The husband is the absolute owner of his wife; he may in most parts punish her with death in case of grave dereliction of duty, and simple chastisement will never cause her relatives to interfere. If, however, the husband kills his wife for any reason not recognised as sufficient by the native code, custom demands in some parts that he should give up his own sister to be killed by his wife's relatives, which seems a less than fair proceeding. But as it is by bartering his sister that a man gets a wife, the punishment is really more severe than it appears—in fact, it fully equals the penalty meted out to the English husband who beats his wife within an inch of her life.

Wives as Loans.

As the owner of his wife the husband is entitled to lend her to his friends, and she may not refuse; tribal meetings are often marked by the exchange of wives, and in certain tribes there is a curious system commonly known by the Dieri name *pirrauru*. According to this, a wife has a regular husband; but when he is away or at tribal meetings she passes to a man who may be called her secondary husband. Very often brothers arrange these *pirrauru* marriages, and, as a woman could with ease be abducted in the absence of her husband, it seems possible that the practice of *pirrauru* is really a kind of insurance against matrimonial accidents. As a man can have a *pirrauru* wife before he has an ordinary one, it is no doubt due in part to the scarcity of women.

Tribal Etiquette.

It is not always easy to find a wife or marry one in Europe, but for the black fellow the difficulties of entrance into the state of matrimony are far greater. Not only must the maiden be wooable and moderately willing, she must also be of the right tribal status, and woe betide the unlucky couple who fly in the face of native codes of morals; we have seen something of their fate above. Nearly all Australian tribes are divided into two great classes, whose original purpose, now falling into desuetude, was to control the matrimonial arrangements of their members. Not only must the woman belong to the right class, but in some cases it is even prescribed in what degree of relationship a man must stand to the person he is to marry; a Dieri man, for example, must marry his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. This rule is, however, less alarming than it seems: a man must marry his cousin, and as in Australia the term translated "brother" includes about half the males of a given generation, instead of being confined to the male children of the same father and mother, there are sure to be some women available. However, only about one-eighth of the women of a tribe are eligible mates for a man, so that at best it is not always an easy matter for a young man to get married when the old men have first pick.

In some tribes these regulations are carried further, and all the members of the tribe are divided not only into two moieties, but, further, each moiety is subdivided into two or four classes; under normal circumstances a man is limited in his choice to the women of one of these classes, though at the present day these regulations are breaking down, and a man may marry any woman of his own generation.

In connection with these classes there is sometimes a singular and complicated system of etiquette. All over the world there are curious customs of avoidance, a son-in-law may not speak to his mother-in-law, nor a

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daughter-in-law to her father-in-law; sister avoids brother, and, more curious still, as we have already seen, betrothed couples avoid each other. These individual *tabus* are complicated by more general *tabus*, and the men's meeting ground is forbidden to women in Australian tribes, while the women's ground may not be profaned by the foot of a male. At night the girls and the boys under seven sleep round the family fire with the father and mother; but the older boys are banished to the camp of the unmarried men; sometimes there is also an unmarried women's camp under the command of an old woman.

Over and above these observances there is in Central Australia a strict regulation as to who may and who may not be on the visiting list, and the basis of the rules is the four-class system mentioned above. If we suppose that the four classes are named Bat, Crow, Emu, and Hawk, then a Bat man marries an Emu woman; Bat and Crow men are on calling terms with Mr. Bat and his wife; likewise Emu and Hawk women, any of these may call at will. If, however, a Bat woman wishes to pay a visit to the wife of a Bat man, she must choose a time when Mr. Bat is absent; more curious still, Crow women may not even enter his camp during his absence. Mr. Bat, on the other hand, may not speak to, look at, or go anywhere near a Hawk woman. It is perhaps as difficult to move in society in Australia as it is in England.

But it must not be imagined that these regulations entirely cut off all communication between the parties who practise avoidance. In West Australia the huts are placed some distance from each other, and at night the young men sit round their fire, relating their love adventures, when suddenly a deep, wild chant may rise, in which a new arrival relates the incidents of his journey or an old man calls to remembrance scenes of other days. Another will reply in the same tone, and the interchange of remarks conducted in this manner end by becoming general; probably woman is not behindhand in contributing to the conversation, for at night her work is over.

Woman's Work.

Broadly speaking, the wife has to do all the hard work while her lord and master occupies himself with the pleasant business of hunting. To the woman's lot falls the provision of wild roots and vegetables, the building of huts, the transportation of burdens, and children on the march, and so on; her load may amount to a hundredweight, no light weight for a traveller who has to cover twenty miles. Following at a respectful distance behind the father of the family, she carries in one hand her "yam stick," long and fairly thick, which is at once her weapon and her tool. In her bag or on her shoulders is a child or two, and the rest of her load is worthy of particular enumeration. It constituted the worldly wealth of an Australian household in the days when Grey explored West Australia. The list as given by him is curious and interesting: A flat stone to pound roots with; earth to mix with them; quartz to make spears and knives with; stones for axes; cakes of gum to make or mend weapons; kangaroo sinews to do duty as thread; needles made of the shin bones of kangaroos; opossum hair for waist belts; shavings of kangaroo skin with which to polish spears; a mussel shell to be used in hair-cutting; pipe clay, red and yellow paper bark as a water vessel, banksia cones or fungus tinder for fire lighting, and skins waiting to be dressed. She may carry her husband's spare weapons, or the wood from which they are to be made; she has, of course, the roots she collects during the day, for her lord and master must be fed after his hard day's travelling; and there are also knives, axes, grease, etc., etc.

If it should chance to rain, the wife, before the journey is at an end, collects suitable sticks. Arrived at the camping ground, she makes with her digging stick eight or nine holes in the earth, and plants in them the ends of the poles she has collected; the other ends meet in the centre, and keep their places without being tied in any way,

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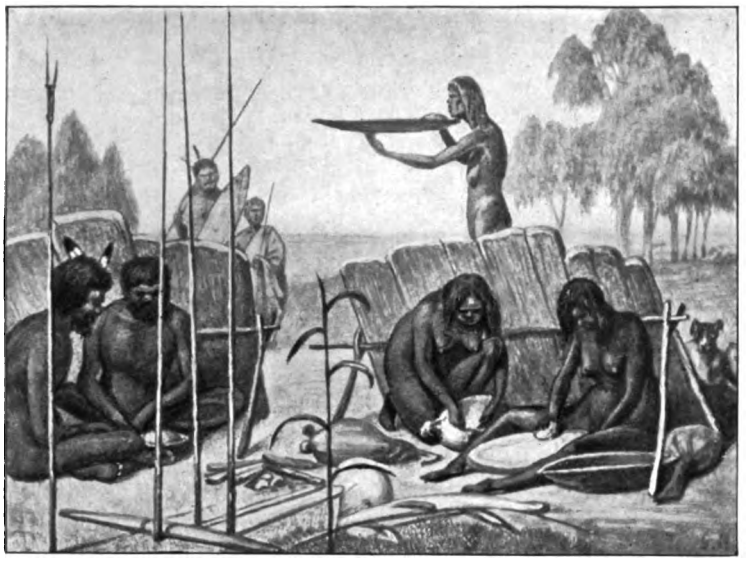


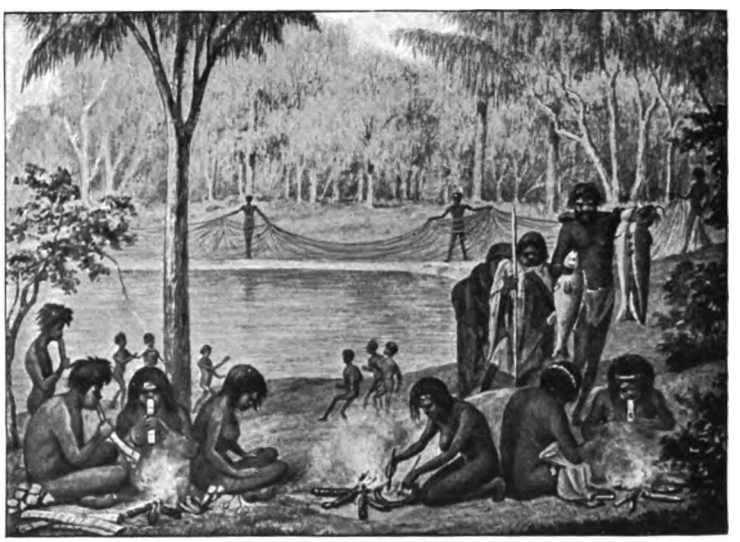
WORK IN THE CAMP.
The woman standing up is winnowing grass seed by blowing, the one on the right is grinding seed.

thanks to her art in building; then smaller sticks are laced through the poles, and over them comes a layer of bark or, it may be, grass or leaves intertwined.

The hut made, the wife may have to begin the preparation of the vegetable food, for the culinary processes are surprisingly lengthy, and in the case of poisonous or bitter food-stuffs may involve hours of work. In some parts of Australia grass seeds are an important article of food, and it is the woman who has to prepare them; the grass is put into a hole some twelve inches in depth, and she stamps upon it with a twisting motion till the seed is knocked out, and has worked down to the bottom; it is then transferred to a wooden bowl, and winnowed with the breath or a current of air; the next process is to grind the seed moistened with water upon the proper stone, which may have been brought hundreds of miles, and in such a case the carrier is always the woman, though the mass is eighteen inches square and several inches thick — no light load even for a man. As the meal is ready, it is scraped off into a bowl, and may be eaten raw or cooked.

Domestic Habits.

The stock description of the Australian black eating his fill and throwing the bones over his shoulder to his wife and family is only in part true; for by a curious custom the husband is not in all parts required to provide his family with food—in fact, it is rather the wife who is the provider. Animal food is divided by the hunter in certain proportions, some of which go to his wife's parents, others to his own parents, his brothers and sisters, the bachelors of the camp, and so on. The support of a man's own children may fall to the lot of their grandparents, so far as animal food is concerned, while the vegetable food collected by the wife is reserved for herself and her children. The throwing of food over the shoulder is not necessarily a mark of contempt; there is a deep-seated objection to



AN AL FRESCO MEAL.
Fish are often eaten half-roasted as soon as they are caught.

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receiving food at the hands of another which may go far to explain the man's action; for with food may be conveyed magical force from one person to another; and who so likely to suffer as a person of different sex from the giver?

Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

A BEAUTY OF THE MORUYA TRIBE, N.S. WALES.
The eyes of the Australians are sometimes strikingly beautiful.

In connection with animal food another custom must be noted. All persons were not equally free to eat of certain animals; emu, black-headed snake, and porcupine were forbidden to young women in the Wakelbura tribe, and transgression meant that the offender would pine away, uttering the cry of the creature she had eaten; for its spirit would enter her and devour her vitals. These restrictions do not begin at once. Up to the age of nine or ten a boy or girl may eat pretty much what he or she pleases; then various foods are forbidden, and these are usually those which older people like best. Many more kinds of meat are forbidden when a woman is full grown —opossum, red kangaroo, duck, turtles, emu, bandicoot, dingo, and many other articles of diet must be looked at and longed for. In some tribes fish taken by diving are forbidden to all women, and at certain periods any kind of fish. With old age comes the good time, not only for old men, who then attain great power and authority in the tribe, but also for old women, at any rate in many cases. Then there are few articles which she may not eat, if she can get them; at the mouth of the Murray they did not partake of a kind of toad, nor yet of the young of the wombat before its hair had developed; otherwise they were free of all animal food.

Food Restrictions.

Where fish and mussels are an important article of diet, much of the work of collection falls on the women; at Lake Alexandrina a kind of mussel was eaten with bullrush root, and women dived for it, a net round their necks, which they brought up full after remaining three or four minutes under water; they used to work from a raft on which was a small fire on hearth of wet seaweed; this served to cook the catch which was often eaten half-raw. For eight months in the year the women collected crayfish, groping for them in the mud with their toes; they immediately crushed the claws to escape being bitten.

Women as Fishers.

Another way of catching fish was for

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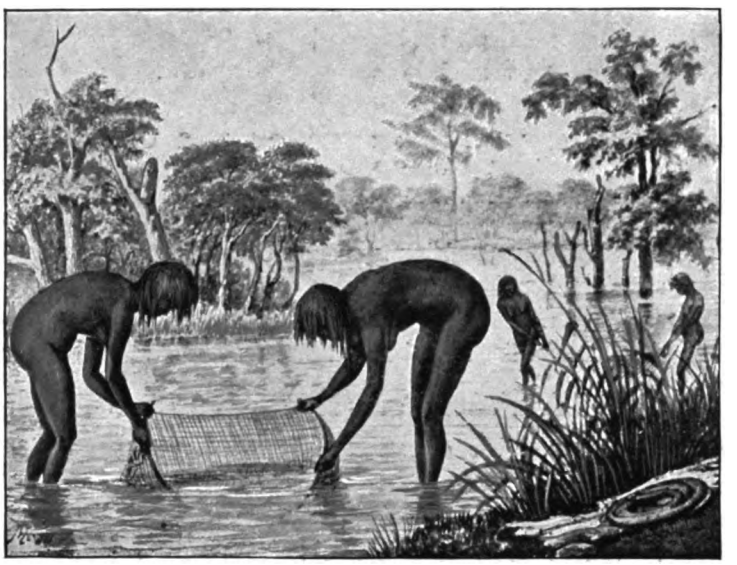
women to work a small net in pairs; and in New South Wales the woman also fished from the canoe; at Port Jackson on her way to the fishing grounds she placed her child on her shoulders; it twined its legs round her neck and held on to her hair. Dropping on her knees, the woman sat on her heels and jammed her knees against the sides for steadiness; a small fire was kept up in the canoe, as on the raft, for cooking, and in the course of her two or three miles' paddle the unfortunate woman would have this so close to the small of her back that burns and frightful scars often resulted; fishing under such conditions can hardly have been regarded as an amusement.



AUSTRALIAN WOMEN FISHING.
Two women work a small net in shallow water.

Troubles of Widowhood.

Hard as is the life of the Australian wife her troubles are not at an end when she becomes a widow; for marriage is the natural state of woman, and in a few months she passes, willy nilly, to another husband, very often a brother of her "late lamented." In some parts she is required to mourn for her husband for a considerable period; in the Central tribes she must cut her head open, and is under a vow of silence till her period of mourning is ended, and two full years sometimes elapse before she regains her freedom of speech; meanwhile all her communications must be by gesture, language which in these tribes has been brought to a high state of perfection. In the east of Australia the widow was often required to sit in a hut erected upon the grave of her dead husband, her head covered with a cap of *kopi* (plaster of Paris), weighing eight or more pounds. Stranger still, but readily understandable when we remember the passionate love of an Australian mother for her children, is the custom of carrying the body of a dead child for months, and sometimes years; fortunately it is often well smoke-dried first.

Mourning customs are incumbent on other female relatives; in West Australia, if a man returned to the camp after a death had taken place, the nearest female relative of the deceased had to kneel before him, embrace his knees with her left arm and scratch his face with the nails of her right hand till the blood came; then she would sit down beside his wife, and they would rest their heads on each other's shoulders, and scratch each other's faces, crying and wailing all the time in heartrending tones. The same ceremonies were carried out when parties casually met in the bush, and five or six women could sometimes be seen kneeling to a boy of six or seven years old, lamenting most bitterly, the little fellow meantime preserving in his countenance and bearing all the gravity and dignity of a man.

Death.

Death in Australia is usually attributed to witchcraft, and it is the duty of the survivors to avenge it. It was the women who roused the men to sally forth, and an old hag would often chant on these occasions till she dropped from exhaustion. Standing with her legs

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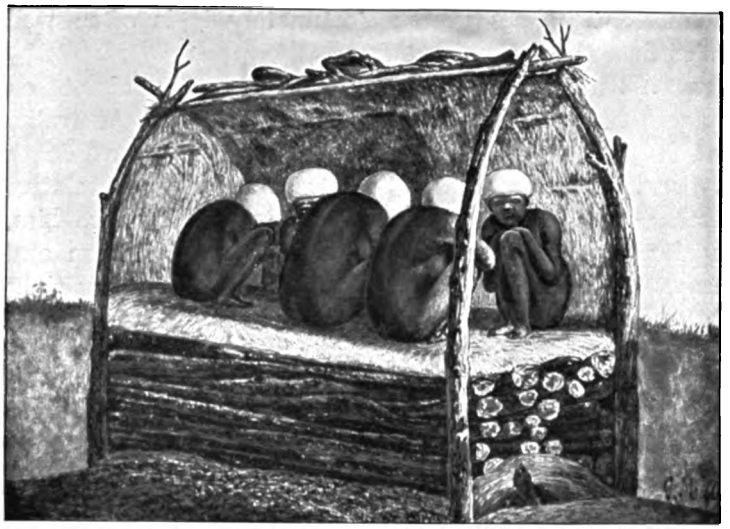


AUSTRALIAN WIDOWS SITTING ON THE GRAVE OF THE DECEASED HUSBAND.
Each wears a plaster of Paris (*kopi*) cap weighing 8 or 10 lbs.

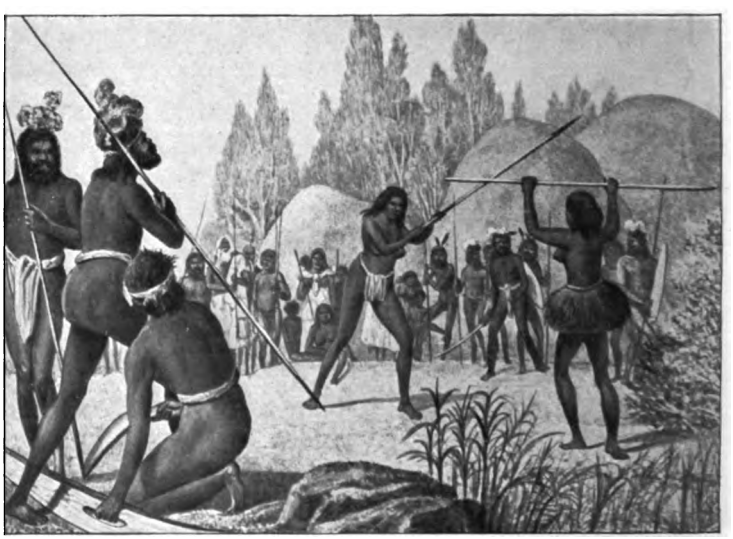
wide apart, she waved her yam stick in the air, rocking her body to and fro, as she poured forth a wild stream of maledictions, her skin cloak floating behind her in the wind as she did so.

But the women did not confine themselves to inciting the men. On the Adelaide River an old woman has been seen leading the avenging party, a heavy club in her hand. Where the husband has to risk his life in the duel, his spouse stands at his side and endeavours to shield him from the missiles with her yam stick. The women, too, do their share of fighting; sometimes it is a kind of quarter-staff combat; sometimes it is a ding-dong affair, in which the wrongdoer has to receive the first blow; then her victim stoops down, her hands between her thighs, holding out her head to the blow of a four-foot yam stick, thicker than a broom-stick, which, thanks to the matted hair and general hardness, seldom knocks a woman out, and does not always knock her down; the first blow struck, it is the turn of the wrongdoer, and so the curious duel goes on till one or the other has had enough.

Old women, when men fight, sometimes gather round the defeated champion and protect him, parrying the blows with their yam sticks. In a few cases old women seem even to have occupied a high place in the councils of the tribe, and were raised to the position by a special ceremony.

This is not the only part which the women play in the public life of Australian tribes. Though they may hear little or nothing of religion, and though, as a rule, it is forbidden to reveal to them any detail of an initiation ceremony, women nevertheless play a part in the rites, but their share would hardly be intelligible without a longer description than can be given here. In the *corroboree* or dance their assistance is often invoked as musicians, their instrument being a folded opossum cloak which serves as a drum, failing which a portion of their person is made to produce a loud reverberation. They, no less than the men, chant in

The Corroboree.



AUSTRALIAN WOMEN FIGHTING.
They settle their quarrels in a kind of quarter-staff combat.

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chorus, and in many cases take an actual part in the rhythmic movements of the dance. Sometimes women perform alone, and in one singular figure they stand with the feet close together, the hands joined above the head, throw the legs outward from the knee without moving the feet, and then sharply close them again. In another figure they keep the feet close together, and without lifting them from the ground advance by a peculiar movement of the limbs and describe a short semicircle. But space prevents our giving an account of all the varied movements.

Australian Witchcraft.

If the Australian woman plays no part in religion, she is sometimes enrolled among the magicians of the tribe. Her office may be maleficent or curative, and Mrs. Langloh Parker tells a story of her power in the latter direction. A European visitor to Mrs. Parker's house was suddenly and unaccountably taken ill, and to amuse her it was agreed to ask the witchwoman, old Bootha, to discover the cause of the illness. After a performance, apparently of the nature of ventriloquism, in which she professed to get replies from the spirits, Bootha announced that the young lady had offended the spirits by bathing in the shade of the Minggah (spirit) tree, in which they dwell. In this were, so Bootha said, swarms of spirit bees, which had put some of their wax on the liver of the sufferer, and had also stung her back. As the visitor had native girls as her companions in her bathing expeditions, Mrs. Parker regarded the diagnosis as mistaken; but on inquiry her visitor admitted having taken her dip beneath the Coolabah tree in question one day when she was too late for her usual party; not only so but she actually had an eruption on her back corresponding to the stings of the spirit bees. Bootha undertook to charm the bees away, and the patient rapidly recovered, though she ungratefully refused to be converted to the Australian view of her indisposition.

More notable still was a piece of rain-making on Bootha's part. Mrs. Parker's rose garden was withering for want of rain, so she persuaded Bootha to bring some, and tied her down to a day. The day came, a heavy storm broke over the garden, and two inches of rain fell; within half a mile of each side of the garden the dust was barely laid, so Bootha got a new dress and some "bacca." Next time she failed signally; but then, of course, there was a great magician up the creek who was working against her because he was angry with the white people.

Photograph by Dr. Ramsay Smith & P. Foelsche.

WOMAN OF LARRAKIA TRIBE.
The scars on her back are a sign of widowhood.

But to do magic a woman does not need to be a regular magician; any love-sick maid or slighted beauty can have recourse

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to its aid. If a woman wants to injure a man, she blows on her fingers, and then claws the air, moving her hand up and down with jerks towards the man as he leaves the camp, taking good care, of course, that she is not detected. This is said to cause him to waste away; his eyes sink into his head, and his muscles wither till he is a mere skeleton.

To injure another woman, an older wife, it may be, a woman takes her yam stick, sings over it, moves it about as if she were pulling something towards her, and then leaves it hidden in the scrub. The old woman becomes ill and can only be cured if her enemy anoints her with fat and red ochre, and at the same time rubs her with the yam stick, as if to extract the evil magic. Sometimes a woman undertakes to avenge an injury done to one of her kin; she is rubbed all over with grease and red ochre, and decorated with white down, stuck on with her husband's blood. She sets out at night and carries a club and a charmed stick; if the latter is thrown at the foe they say it enters his or her body in small pieces, and renders the victim insensible. While she is away the husband fixes one of her digging sticks upright in the ground; should she be killed, the stick falls to the ground of its own accord.

Love charms are, of course, not unknown, and a man may charm his head-band for a woman or a woman do the same for a man; another means is to take the *lonka-lonka*, a shell ornament, which is traded down from the north-west coast to the central tribes; the man charms the lightning into it and when the woman sees it flash "all at once her internal organs shake with strong emotion," as the native account assures us, and she takes the first opportunity to run away with him. On the other hand there are magical means of preventing a woman from misconducting herself; this is a knout of thirty or more strands which the men carry secretly in their wallets. The very sight of it is supposed to bring a woman to her senses, while a blow may be fatal; even at a distance it is effective, for when it is cracked the evil magic streams from it through the air.

Burial Customs.

Perhaps it is because a woman is of small account in magic that little trouble is taken with her when she is dead, for many burial customs mean no more than that the living are afraid of the spirit of the dead; and if the dead be weak, why trouble about placating them? But here, as in many other respects, the customs differ with the tribe. In some of the central tribes old women are buried at once, while young women and men are hung in a tree for a longer or shorter time; they say quite frankly that it is not worth bothering about the old creatures. Some of these tribes believe that a woman has no spirit, and this is naturally not without influence on their customs. In other cases women are laid in an open trench dug with a yam stick, and the body is exposed with the legs bent upwards; after a time the remains are transferred to a tree.

In the old days at Port Jackson young people were buried; those who had passed middle age were burned; and Collins gives an account of the cremation of the wife of Bennilong in 1796. The corpse was placed on a pile of wood, its head to the north. With her was a basket containing her fishing line and other implements, and her husband having put some logs on the body the fire was lighted. The next day the husband raked the ashes together with his spear, and raised a tumulus of earth on which he placed his bark spade.

Mrs. Parker describes the burial of an old friend of hers on the Narran River. All night long relatives sat round the corpse of Beemunni, to keep off the spirits, and then the body was put in its bark coffin, taken in a single piece from the whole circumference of the tree. On the way to the grave they heard a small bird cry, and Mrs. Parker was told that this was the soul of the dead woman. At the grave a fire was lighted to smoke the mourners and keep the spirits away. After lowering the body into the grave the women raised the death wail;

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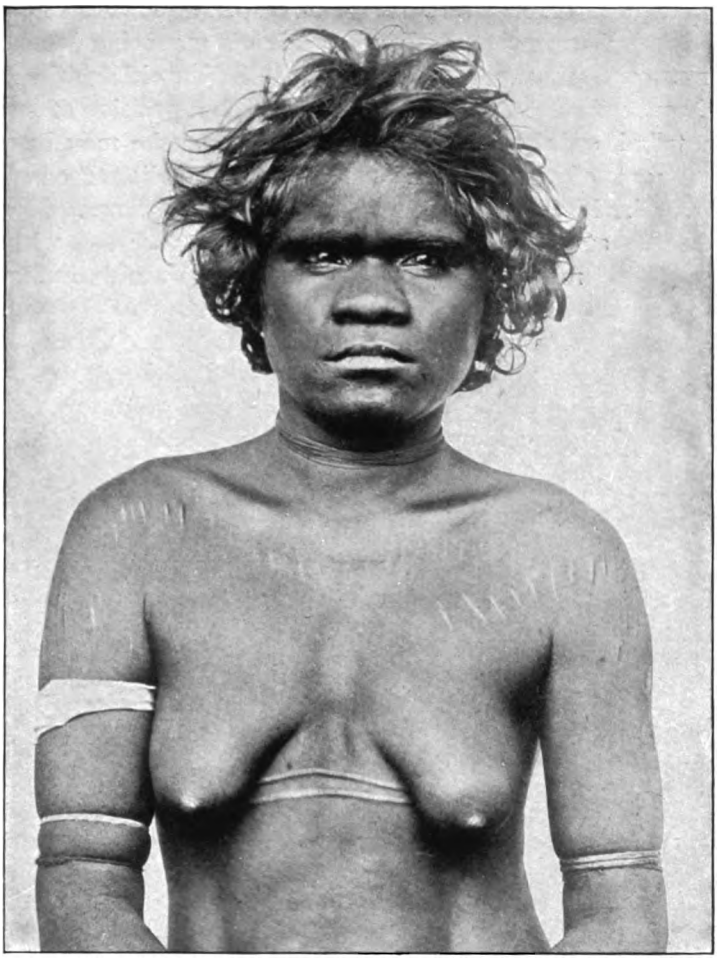
then came an address from one of the men, then more wailing; finally old women danced slowly round the edge of the grave, and men began to throw the earth in. As this was done, the dead woman's daughter had died on Wednesday night, and at bedtime on Saturday the sky was as cloudless as it had been for weeks; but in the middle of the night Mrs. Parker was awakened by the patter of raindrops



Photograph by Dr. Ramsay Smith & P. Foelsche.

WOMAN OF WOOLNA TRIBE, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

The nose of the Australian is sometimes nearly as broad as it is long.

shrieked "Mother, mother!" and hit her head with a sharp stone till the blood gushed out, and sat rocking her body to and fro, wailing all the time.

At the funeral was the old witch woman, Bootha, and Mrs. Parker asked her when the drought would break. Coming very close Bootha whispered: "In three days I think it; old woman dead tell me when she dying that sposin' she can send rain, she send 'im three days when her yowee bulleem-rul—spirit breath—go long Oobi Oobi" (the sacred mountain). Beemunni on the iron roof; all night it rained, and all the next day. The blacks say that a dead person will always send rain within a week of his death to wash out his tracks on earth.

Of the future life of women there is little to say, for Australian ideas as to a future life are very undeveloped. But mention must be made of the beliefs of some of the central tribes, who hold that all human beings are reincarnations of mythical half animal ancestors; some, it is true, say that women have no souls, and are not

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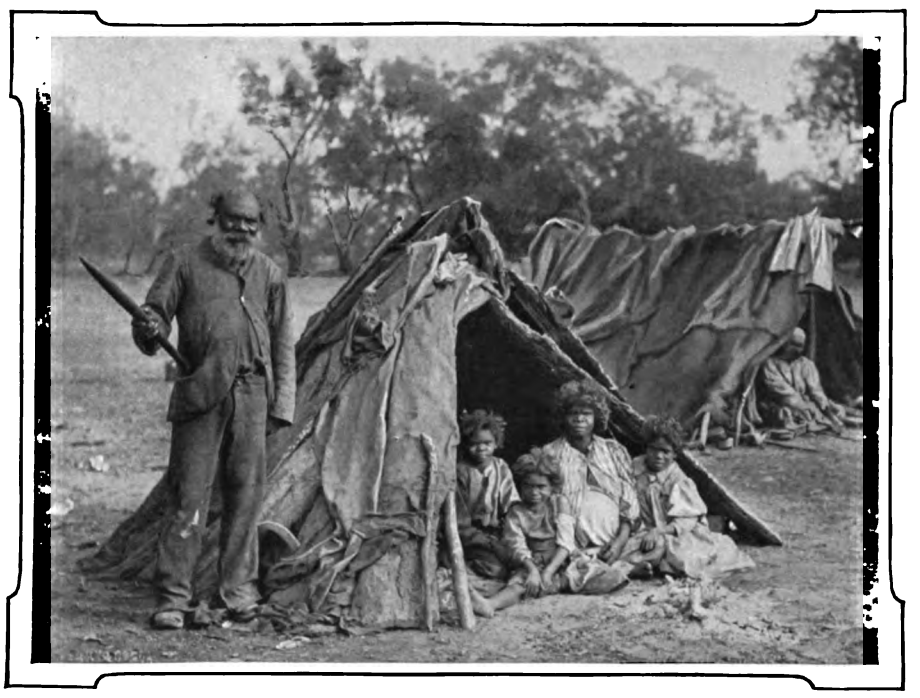
reincarnated; but others say that the sex is changed with each incarnation.

And so the Australian woman goes on her way weeping, rejoicing, toiling, loving; she is far from being the lowest or unhappiest of her sex. If her ideas of sexual morality are not ours, it must be remembered that infidelity is, according to the tribal code of morality, merely an infringement of the husband's rights of property. She loves her children with more than common affection, and cares for them in a manner that many mothers in our boasted state of civilisation would do well to imitate. Kept in subjection by the men, she seldom hears anything of religion, and but rarely plays a great part in the public life of the tribe. If her husband often misuses her, she suffers far less than her civilised sister does from man's brutality; there is sometimes real affection between husbands and wives, and when one of them dies, the survivor's mourning is no mere formal display. In her old age the Australian woman may reach a position of importance in tribal councils; or she may be neglected or even cast forth to die, as one that is no longer of use to her fellows. More often, perhaps, she is kindly treated without being looked up to, and her declining days are made happy by the prattle of her grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Present Position of the Aboriginal.



Photograph by Kerry, Sydney.

AN ABORIGINAL ENCAMPMENT, NEW SOUTH WALES.

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TORRES STRAITS AND NEW GUINEA

By C. G. SELIGMANN

Papuans of Torres Straits—Extinction of the Race—Clothing—"Coming of Age" Celebrations—Courtship Customs—Motherhood in Saibai—Women of New Guinea—Eastern New Guinea—Tattoo—The Significance of the Petticoat—Courtship and Marriage in the Hood Peninsula—New Guinea Widows—Woman's Work in New Guinea—Women as the Cause of Strife—The "Gapa"—The "Iropi" Dance—Initiation of Girls—Methods of Cooking

Papuans of Torres Straits.

THE Torres Straits, which stretch between Australia and New Guinea, comprise a shallow and reef-strewn area dotted with islands, which for political and administrative purposes are regarded as belonging to Queensland, though the natives, once the islands within easy paddling distance of Australia are left behind, cease to show Australian characteristics. The inhabitants of the islands of Torres Straits are, in fact, thorough Papuans, and differ but slightly in general appearance and habits from those of New Guinea in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Fly River, with whom some of them intermarry. For the last twenty or thirty years the importance of the pearling industry has caused the Straits to be overrun by folk from the whole of Eastern Asia from Ceylon to Japan, and including the inhabitants of many of the islands of the Pacific.

Extinction of the Race.

As the result of this invasion, combined with the influence of traders and missionaries, old habits of thought have died out, the old solidarity has broken down, foreign diseases have been introduced, and the natives are everywhere rapidly dying out; scarcely the memory survives of the condition of things which prevailed half a century ago when an iron knife or a glass bottle were of the same value as a necklace made of dogs' teeth, and any one of these articles was the usual price to pay for a wife. Some islands are already destitute of inhabitants, and in others scarcely half-a-dozen old men and women are to be found; while the number of the latter still living who bear upon the small of their back the scars cut in their youth to represent their old totem animals, such as the dugong, the shark, or the snake, can be counted upon the fingers of one hand. The back of one of the very few surviving women bearing this interesting clan badge is shown in the illustration on p. 152, which represents an old woman of Mabuiag. The two raised scars above her hips represent the snake, the chief totem of her clan. Breast marks, deeply cut scars made between the breasts, often wrongly regarded as designed to hold up the breasts which tend to become pendulous as child-bearing and hard life ages the women, and for the existence of which the natives themselves have forgotten the reason, are almost as rare.

Clothing.

In the old days the costume of the women of Torres Straits was a petticoat made of strips of the shredded leaves of the sago plant, and often dyed brown and black; but at the present day this simple and cleanly costume is utterly

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extinct, and every woman now wears a hideous loosely made chemise-like gown, often of the brightest trade calico, clean only when it is first put on. For since fashion nowadays decrees that no woman shall be seen without one of these, and as few women have more than one, or at most two, of these garments, their usual condition of dirt and dinginess can be more easily imagined than described.

By permission from Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.

AN OLD WOMAN OF MABUIAG.

Showing the raised scars of her clan mark on her back.

"Coming of Age" Celebrations.

In all the islands lying in the western portion of Torres Straits between Australia and New Guinea, it was formerly the custom to celebrate a girl's arrival at womanhood by a long and complicated ceremonial, the chief feature of which was that she underwent a period of seclusion designed to prevent her injuring others, or being herself injured, at this most critical period of her life. Space permits of only a brief account of one ceremonial of this kind, that which until recently took place on Mabuiag (Jervis Island). A circle of green twigs and bushes would be made in a dark corner in the house of the girl's parents, and in this the girl squatted, fully decked with native ornaments, including nautilus shell pendants in her ears, surrounded by the greenery, which was piled so high round her that only her head and the upper part of her body were visible. There she sat all day for three months. The branches were changed nightly, at which times she was allowed to slip out of the hut to get a little fresh air. During the whole of her seclusion she was attended by two old women, generally her aunts, who looked after her and cooked her food, for during this time she might not even feed herself; all her food was actually put into her mouth by one of her attendants. It was most important that during the time of her seclusion the sun should not shine on her, and it was believed in the neighbouring island of Saibai that if a ray of sunlight fell upon her the girl's nose would rot. At the end of the three months' seclusion the girl was carried by her aunts to the mouth of a creek, special care being taken that no part of her body touched the ground. After the girl's ornaments had been removed, the aunts and the girl bathed together, the other women of the community making a point of splashing water over all three of them. On coming out of the water the girl was decorated in native finery, after which her aunts led her back to the village, where a feast in which she took part had been prepared. This was followed by a dance, and the girl, now regarded as a woman, henceforth took her full part in the life of the village.

Courtship Customs.

On almost all the islands of Torres Straits a girl formerly made the first advances, though a young man who desired to create an impression on any particular girl would take every opportunity of showing off in the village dances and otherwise posing before her. And, if the times were not too peaceable, he would make every attempt to procure a human skull, a feat

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of valour which no girl could resist. He would also probably prepare "medicine" by chewing up the leaves of various trees—some, at least, of which would be scented—and mixing these with the oil expressed from the leaf of a coco-nut. A little of this mixture would then be rubbed over his body in order to fascinate and attract the girl. If he were successful the young woman would take an early opportunity of sending him a string by some younger girl, often a sister of his own, as token that she wished him to come to her. The young man, who would probably be sleeping with his companions in the bachelors' quarters, would keep awake after his comrades had gone to sleep, and would then go to the girl's hut, where she would be ready to receive him. This state of affairs would go on for some time, the lover meanwhile making himself useful as occasion arose to the girl's father. At first the father would not be supposed to know what was going on, and later, when the matter was more or less officially brought to his notice, he would not be angry, but the mother of the girl and her people might feel it incumbent upon themselves to make a fuss, which usually ended in a brawl between the families. This, however, ceased as soon as a member of the bridegroom's people had been "marked"—that is to say, as soon as a little blood had flowed; it was felt then that enough had been done to show the value the girl's family put upon their women. After this, the girl—now considered a bride—and the bridegroom were dressed in their best, and were seated at opposite ends of a mat, while an exchange of presents of food took place between the two families.

By permission of Captain G. W. C. Pim and the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

MERAUKE WOMEN.

Showing neck ornaments and method of dressing the hair.

On the island of Saibai, which is only twelve miles from the New Guinea coast, each woman went through a most interesting ceremony when it was recognised that she was about to become a mother for the first time. A peculiar ornament, called *bid*—which, in fact, is a primitive representation of a child—was made, and this the woman wore while she ceremonially paraded about the village. The body of the *bid* was made of strips of sago leaf, a bamboo loop at one end represented the nose and two bamboo knots the child's eyes. The whole thing was about twenty inches long, and was worn hanging from the neck, so that the head end rested over the lower part of the chest bone; the two pieces of string which were knotted round the neck to prevent it falling represented the arms of the child, while two other pieces, which were passed round the waist and knotted behind to prevent the *bid* slipping round to the side of the body, represented its legs.

Motherhood in Saibai.

On leaving the islands of Torres Straits for the mainland of New Guinea, a vast, scarcely explored region of low, swampy, and very unhealthy country is reached, and but little is known concerning the habits

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and customs of the natives of this part, the most interesting of whom are the Tugeri.

Women of New Guinea.

This is the common name for a number of tribes living in Netherlands' New Guinea, who have for years raided the western portion of the British Possession, where they have succeeded in almost exterminating the coastal tribes. As the result of numerous punitive expeditions more is known about the weapons and canoes of these interesting people than of their other characteristics; but the illustration on p. 153 shows that their women are rather unusually well built for this part of the world, and, instead of cropping their hair, as is common about the neighbourhood of the Fly River in the British Possession, wear it in long, frizzled ringlets. The abundance of ornaments worn by these women is also rather noteworthy, since in New Guinea it is generally the men and not the women who are most decorated.

In the neighbourhood of the estuary of the Fly River, instead of the villages consisting of a number of family houses, a whole village may be represented only by four or five houses each 75 or 100 yards long standing on piles seven or eight feet high. In many of the villages in which these "long houses" occur, the sexes are separated; all the men of a clan, or sometimes of a number of clans, live in one long house and the women and children in another; but although the women may on no account come into the men's houses, each married man may visit his wife in the woman's long house, which is divided on each side of the central public gangway into a number of spaces, each with its own fireplace belonging to a family group. But when a man is ill, or about to die, he is, in some cases, removed to one of the fenced-in spaces under the floor of the women's house, where stores are kept and the family cooking is often done, and where such little privacy as is possible may be obtained.

A MOTU GIRL.

Showing the V-shaped tattoo mark between the breasts which proclaims the girl of marriageable age.

Passing eastwards from the mouth of the Fly River, comparatively dark and always frizzy-haired people continue to be met as far east as the low jutting promontory known as Cape Possession. Eastward of this, for a distance of about 150 miles, a series of people are found presenting marked differences from the more westerly folk. Both men and women are lighter-skinned, and their hair, instead of being invariably frizzy, is not uncommonly curly or even wavy. Some of the younger girls have skin of a moderately light *café-au-lait* colour.

Eastern New Guinea.

Some, if not all, of the western people are cannibals, and the majority of them are, or were, intensely keen skull collectors; but cannibalism does not seem to occur among these more easterly people, who do not, except over a limited area, collect skulls.

The women of the coastal tribes, instead of resorting to scarification, beautify themselves by covering their bodies with tattoo. The illustration on this page represents a Motu girl from the neighbourhood of Port Moresby, and gives some idea of the intricacy of the patterns employed. It fails, however, to convey any idea of the really pleasing effect produced by the dark blue patterns upon the brown skin of the body. Tattooing is begun at an early age—perhaps as young as six or eight—

Tattoo in New Guinea.

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and is continued gradually until shortly before the girl becomes marriageable, when the V-shaped mark, called by the Motu *gado*, the point of which is situated between the breasts, is pricked in. It is only after puberty that the lower part of the abdomen is tattooed, and it is said that without such tattoo a girl would not find a husband.

The Significance of the Petticoat.

Among most of the tribes of the Central Division an unmarried girl can be distinguished from a married woman by her hair being long, by the fact that she wears ornaments, and often by the ornamental character of her *rami*, or petticoat, the only covering she wears. A girl may wear as many petticoats as she pleases, and often does wear an extra one or two beneath her outer *rami*, as this is supposed to enhance the attractiveness of her figure.

The dancing petticoat, worn on ceremonial occasions, and when a big feast is toward, is an elaborate and really beautiful affair, composed as it usually is of a number of shreds of palm leaf dyed various colours, among which are interposed broad strips of the same material bleached to a whitish colour. Such a petticoat reaches from the waist to below the knee, and its right side is left open, so that as the petticoat is flirted in the dance a certain amount of the tattooing of the right buttock and thigh is visible.

Courtship and Marriage in the Hood Peninsula.

The following description of courtship and marriage customs applies especially to the tribes of the Hood Peninsula, but with slight modifications the same manners and customs prevail throughout the greater part of the Central Division. A boy who has found favour with a girl visits her after dark in her parents' house; no especial secrecy is observed, although there is a pretence at this—that is to say, the lover will not enter the house until its occupants are supposed to be asleep. At the same time no mystery is made about the matter, as the customary method of courtship throughout the Central Division is for the lovers to pass their nights together. The man is meanwhile busy collecting the arm-shells, dogs' teeth necklaces and pearl-shell ornaments, which are the most valuable property of the district, and with which he must pay for his bride. When he has collected enough he hands them over to the girl's father, who does not, however, keep any very considerable portion of the bride-price for himself, but divides the greater part of it among his kinsfolk. This may be regarded as a survival from the time when a girl was considered less as her father's daughter than as a valuable asset to the whole of her clan. A number of ceremonial visits between the families of the young couple, and exchanges of food and presents, take place, and for the first three days or so of her married life the girl almost continually wears her dancing petticoat and all the ornaments that belong to her, and any others that she has been able to borrow from her family. Then her ornaments are taken away, and although she retains her dancing petticoat for a few days longer—during which time she is still considered a bride—this too is taken away at the end of a week or so, and she now assumes the homelier petticoat worn by married women. Her head is shaved, generally with a piece of a glass bottle, and she does not, unless she wishes to make herself an object of ridicule, any longer join in the dance.

New Guinea Widows.

When a woman's husband dies she naturally goes into mourning for him, and the mourning of a widow in the Central Division of New Guinea is no quiet, real, or fictitious sorrow for the loss sustained by death, but an extremely elaborate series of ceremonies which have to be gone through completely, and in due order, if the risk of offending the spirit of the deceased is to be avoided. At the first feast for the dead, which takes place a few days after death, the widow's head is shaved and she is blackened from head to foot; she wears a long petticoat devoid of all ornament, which reaches to her feet, while a second similar petticoat

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is often placed round her neck so as completely to hide her body. Whether she wears this second petticoat or not, she dons a sort of waistcoat made of netting, and a netted mourning cap. She is also decked with a good deal of shell jewellery, and must wear round her neck her husband's perineal bandage, tightly twisted upon itself and covered with blackened string. To this is often attached the broken pieces of his lime gourd, his coco-nut shell drinking spoon, and other small personal effects. A widow wears these until, at the last mourning feast, a relative of her husband—usually his sister—cuts short her petticoat and rubs the black mourning paint off her body, after which she bathes in the sea and can, if she wishes, re-marry.

Woman's Work in New Guinea.

Throughout practically the whole of New Guinea, a woman does what to the European seems more than her fair share of household work. In the morning she must fill the water jars or bamboos, and prepare the snack of food which does duty for a Papuan breakfast; then, after making such disposition as she may for the comfort and safety of her children, she goes to the gardens, often carrying her youngest child with her, to gather the yams or bananas that form the staple diet of the natives. If it be the planting season she plants the seed-crop, and does the whole of the garden work, except the fencing and the first breaking up of the soil, which is done by the men. It is also her business to provide all the firewood requisite for the household. Usually she will not get back from the garden till considerably after midday, often not till early in the afternoon, when she must set about preparing the evening meal, which is eaten at twilight, and which to the Papuan is *the* meal of the day.

Women as the Cause of Strife.

Women were, and—in spite of the efforts of the Government officials—still are, a constant source of brawling between the different sections of the same village, and although these brawls usually do not lead to killing, a good deal of trouble is caused by them. It is rather strange that women do not seem to have been a common cause of war between different communities; perhaps they were valued too little. It would happen, every now and again, that a woman, considering herself badly used at one of the markets so often held for the purpose of bartering fish for vegetables, half-way between the coast and inland villages, would tell her relatives that she had been insulted or cheated, and the usual result of this was that a small fight would take place on the spot, and, since the combatants came to blows close to each other, there was more chance than is usual in Papuan warfare that somebody would be hurt. One curious custom for which the natives can give no reason is stated to have been observed. Should any woman or women throw a petticoat or petticoats over a wounded man or prisoner, he would be safe from all further molestation, although the women's relatives might be as desirous as ever of killing him.

The "Gapa."

The importance of feasts and the dances which accompany them has already been referred to, but the most important feast of all, which is called the *Gapa* over a considerable area of the coast of the Central Division, deserves special mention. The preparation for the *Gapa*, and the more or less distinctly festive ceremonial connected with it, may last as long as six weeks or two months, and it is during this time that the biggest dances take place and perhaps the majority of marriages are celebrated. The first preliminary of the feast is to make sure that the gardens are bearing well, then, when it is found that there is a plentiful supply of food, the villagers giving the feast go the round of the friendly communities in the neighbourhood and borrow young pigs, coco-nuts, or whatever else they may need. Usually little but pork is required. This ceremonial borrowing

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WOMAN OF THE RIGO DISTRICT: BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY

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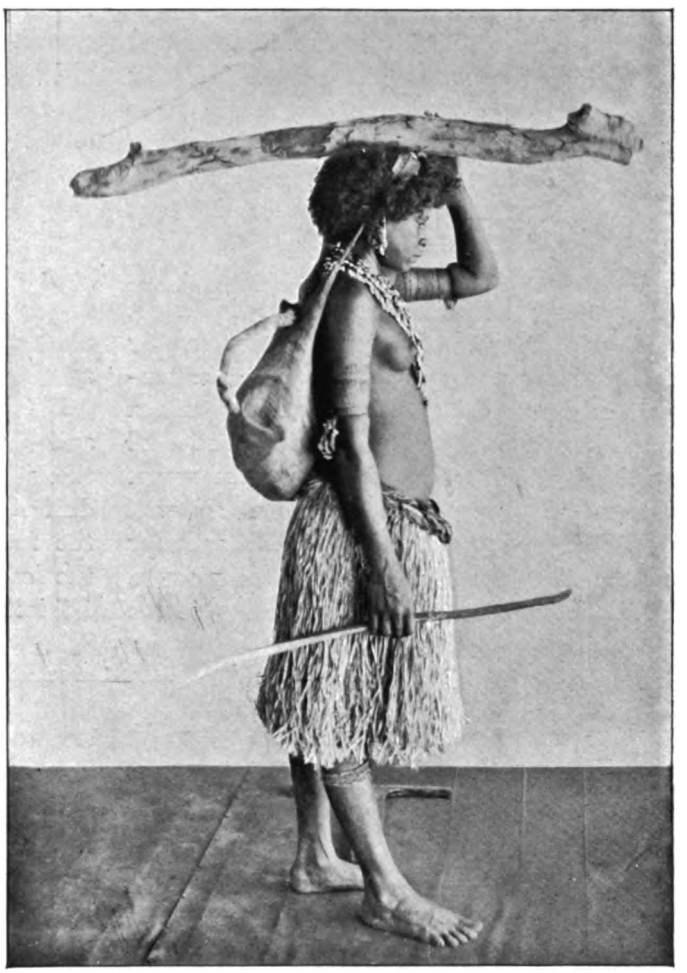
is a more or less necessary precedent to the feast, since it is at the same time a convenient way of insuring that there shall be a worthy show of pork when the great day arrives, and the formal invitation to all the women of the neighbouring friendly villages to come to the feast, bringing with them empty baskets, which will be filled with food for them to carry away. Scaffoldings are built on the verandah of every house, and often a breast-high railing is erected all round the village. The *dubu*—that is, the carved ceremonial, one might almost say sacred—platform belonging to the clan in whose name the feast is given is thoroughly tested, and if it is found to be untrustworthy new planks are put in, or the whole may be rebuilt. It is next decorated with greenery, and great masses of coco-nuts are piled upon and under its staging, while huge bunches of bananas are laid along its edge, or hung from a special railing prepared for the purpose. Streamers, to every six inches of which are tied a yam or coco-nut, hang from its tallest poles, or are carried to the neighbouring verandahs, which are themselves hidden under a mass of vegetable food and green branches, as is the railing which, as has already been mentioned, is generally built round the village.



A MOTU GIRL
Carrying firewood. Showing petticoat and ornaments.

At last the ceremonial begins, men and women from all the neighbouring communities troop in; and since among so many strangers —who naturally in the old days did not come unarmed—a few blood debts might be outstanding, there was in some villages a special ceremonial observance in which peace was invoked by men carrying lengths of sugar-cane, and swinging these horizontally above the strangers' heads when the latter first entered the village. The dancing costumes on these occasions are really beautiful, especially those of the women. Frontlets of a valuable red shell are worn low on the forehead, a portion of the scalp being sometimes shaved so as to set off a second frontlet of white shells. In some tribes a dancing headdress of feathers made from the yellow-red tail feathers of the female of a parrot called *audubora*, belonging to the genus *Eclectus*, is worn. These feathers are arranged on a strip of cane so as to radiate outwards from the head, around which they form a halo of brilliant colour, while projecting through the cane on which they are mounted rises the frizzy mop of hair of which every Papuan girl is so proud, and in which she probably wears sweet-

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smelling flowers or more feathers. Round the girl's neck are shell ornaments, boars' tusks, necklaces of dogs' teeth, and, most brilliant of all, a moon-shaped ornament cut crescent-wise from the largest pearl shell obtainable.

On the Hood Peninsula the feast proper really lasts for two days. On the first day the initiation of the girls who have become marriageable during the year takes place, and this ceremony is carried out upon one of the *dubu* or platforms already alluded to. Before ascending the *dubu* the girls who are to be initiated, and who have, of course, been freshly tattooed for the occasion, perform a particular dance called *Iropi*, and for this a special petticoat, which allows a good deal of the buttock to be seen, is often worn. The whole ceremony has been so well described by the late R. E. Guise, who for a long time lived on the Hood Peninsula, that it is permissible to quote his description at some length. Speaking of the *Iropi* dance, he says: "To the centre of the string which upports the petticoat and immediately at the centre of the small of the back is attached a string about two feet long, with an old knitted bag on the end as a weight. The girls form up in a row one immediately behind another. Each girl holds the string in her right hand about six inches from the bag. To the slow beat of the drum she takes one step forward with her right foot, at the same time swinging the bag behind her and over her left shoulder, where she adroitly catches it with her left hand, and to another beat of the drum swings it over her right shoulder, recovering it in the right hand and taking another step forward."

The "Iropi" Dance.

This goes on for about twenty minutes, and then come other dances, in which all the villagers take part. There is a good deal of eating and chewing of betel nut, but the really important part of the festival, the ceremonial distribution of food, the full initiation of the girls, and the challenging

THE *IROPI* DANCE, HOOD PENINSULA.
This dance is one of the features of the ceremony connected with the initiation of girls of marriageable age.

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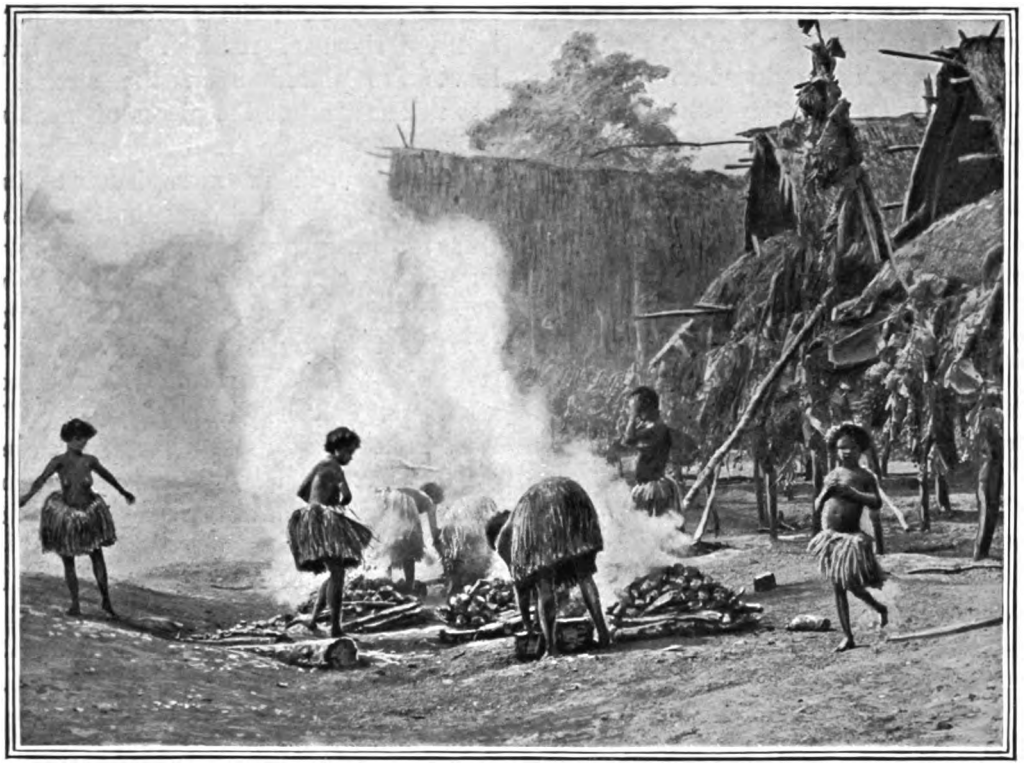

PREPARING A FEAST IN A SINAUGOLO VILLAGE.
The women are cooking the food in native ovens.

of another clan to hold the same feast next year, only occurs on the next day.

The Initiation of Girls.

Some time in the afternoon the girls who are to be initiated ascend one of the *dubu*, accompanied by an old woman who carries a drum. The initiates stand side by side, and at a signal beat of the drum untie their petticoats and throw them behind them. The father of each girl who is being initiated has previously given one or more pigs to the feast, and these, which have generally been caught in readiness, are hung to the edge of the platform in front of the girls, or securely tied up or laid on the ground in front of them. A number of old women then advance and place on the *dubu* in front of each girl a basket containing some yams, a small knife, and a quantity of areca nut. On this occasion only, a girl, provided that her father has taken human life, may wear his head-dress of bird of paradise plumes so mounted and weighted as to wave whenever the head is slightly moved. "An old woman now advances and anoints each girl on the breast, and the whole of the front of the body with melted pigs' fat or coco-nut oil. . . . Two or three married women or widows seat themselves behind the girls and beat drums with slow and rhythmical measure. Each girl takes a yam in her left hand and the knife in her right, and at each beat of the drum cuts off a piece of the yam, bends her knees, and slightly bows her head, causing the weighted head-dress to sway forward. . . After each girl has cut up half a dozen yams, she, on the cessation of the beat of the drum, which is announced by two sharp claps, seizes the basket of areca nut and pelts the crowd."

Methods of Cooking.

Although only unmarried girls take part in dancing, married women as well play an important part in preparing and serving the food consumed at feasts. Pigs are killed and cut up by men, but in the Central Division it is the women who fetch the greater part

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of the vegetable food from the gardens and who cook this and the flesh of the pigs.

The photograph reproduced on p. 159 was taken in a village of the Sinaugolo tribe during the preparation of only a moderately important feast. The rail with bunches of bananas hanging to it, which runs entirely round the village, is seen immediately in front of the houses which form the background of the photograph. The foreground is occupied by women and girls, the latter not yet wearing their dancing petticoats and attending to the food which is cooking in the native ovens over which they are bending. These "native ovens," in which, when they are properly arranged, flesh and vegetables are alike cooked to perfection, are prepared as follows.

A shallow excavation is made in the ground and its bottom lined with stones; upon these a fire is made which is not raked away until the stones have become not far short of red-hot. Damp banana leaves are placed upon the stones, and upon these are put the pieces of meat to be cooked—vegetables are more usually simply boiled—wrapped in more banana leaves. More stones are piled over the food, and as these are being arranged, and in turn covered with leaves, a little water is dropped into the "oven," the steam from which is in great part kept in by the stones and banana leaves on top. The result is that the food is only slightly cooked by the direct heat from the stones at the bottom, the greater part of the effect being due to the steam which penetrates the leaf packets in which the food is wrapped. When it is considered that the meat has been long enough in the oven the stones are removed, and the packets with their deliciously cooked contents are removed and distributed.

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Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.
BATTAK WOMAN.
Showing tin ear ornament.

Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.
ACHEHNESE WOMAN (SUMATRA).
Wearing Malayan costume.

THE NON-MALAY TRIBES OF THE SUNDA ISLANDS AND CELEBES

By R. SHELFORD, M.A., F.L.S.

I

Origin of Indonesians—Physical Features—Position of Women in Malaya—Marriage Customs—The Law of Divorce—The Achehnese—Curious Aids to Beauty—Achehnese Marriage Customs—Polygamy and Divorce in Acheh—Battak Marriage by Capture—Marriage by Purchase—Birth Customs in Acheh—Sumatran Children

THE true Malay appears upon the scene in relatively recent times; before his advent the Malay Archipelago was peopled, in part at any rate, by tribes that now are known to anthropologists as Indonesians, a race typically of Caucasic affinities. The division of the inhabitants of Malaya into Malays proper and Indonesians is convenient rather than strictly accurate, for some of the non-Malay tribes speak languages that are evidently of Malay origin, and in their physical features conform to the broad-headed Malay type. Such are the Sea-Dayaks of Borneo, and for such tribes the name Proto-Malayan is perhaps more appropriate. The origin of all these tribes is buried in obscurity, but it appears probable that they spread over their present area of distribution from more than one centre, and it is practically certain that they did not arrive synchronously. Be that as it may,

Origin of Indonesians.

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they now form a complex of tribes that have at least one feature in common, viz., that they are not the same people as the true Malays, and it is of these non-Malay tribes, whether showing pronounced Caucasic affinities or equally pronounced Malayan affinities, that the following account treats.

Physical Features.

The physical features of the Indonesian tribes present few points of difference that can be appreciated by any but the trained anthropologist or those who have lived for some time with the people. The women are of short stature, compact and plump rather than elegant in figure when young; their complexion varies from a pale yellow to a shade that has aptly been compared to the colour of a new saddle, though still darker people occur in Central Celebes and amongst the Kalangs of Java. Beauty, according to European standards, is rarely if ever attained, for the high cheek-bones, the absence of a distinct bridge to the nose, the thick and somewhat everted lips, forbid this, but the general cast of countenance is frequently gentle and pleasing, and the dark brown eyes and normally abundant hair are good features. The habit of chewing betel-nut dyes the lips a brilliant scarlet, and the teeth are usually artificially blackened, so that the mouth looks larger than it really is; white teeth are not regarded by all the tribes as an accessory to beauty, and the teeth of Europeans have been contemptuously referred to as being "like the teeth of a dog" by more than one Indonesian belle.

Position of Women in Malaya.

The dress and ornaments, manners and customs of the various tribes differ so much that they may be discussed more conveniently under geographical sections. But before passing on to this, a word or two may be said on the position which women occupy in Malaya. The European traveller, seeing women toiling in the fields, carrying heavy loads, and working as hard as, and even harder than, men, will not unnaturally conclude that woman in these lands is little better than a drudge, and that her position in family and village life is purely subordinate to that of man. As a matter of fact this estimate would be incorrect, for on longer acquaintance it would be found that amongst most Indonesian tribes woman occupies an important and well-recognised position. In some of the islands she takes a part in village councils—individuals have been met who actually directed the management of the affairs of the village—whilst in the family her voice is often supreme, and Dr. Hickson cites an instance of a man in Minahassa, Celebes, who actually consulted his wife before concluding a bargain dealing with the sale of an egg. It is true that the women work hard, but in many cases the farm that a woman cultivates is the joint property of herself and her husband, so that it is to her interest that as much gain as possible be derived from its cultivation. Moreover, in no part of the world is the dignity of labour more considered, though quite unconsciously, than in the Malay Archipelago, so that she who sits at home idle and at ease reaps a harvest of scorn and contumely from her more industrious sisters.

Marriage Customs.

If we glance at the marriage customs of some of the tribes we shall gain a clue to the important position occupied by Indonesian women. Among the Menangkabau Malays a man is compelled to marry a girl of some other village than his own. When he has married her he must leave his home and take up his abode with his wife in the house of his parents-in-law; he is regarded so much as an intruder and interloper that his parents-in-law ceremonially ignore his presence, and he must ignore them; he has no voice in the up-bringing of his children, this office being performed by his wife's brother; his property on his death goes to his sister's children; finally, descent is reckoned through the maternal line. Here we have what is termed the Matriarchal state, or Matriarchate at the height of its development. In Acheh, Sumatra, the laws are somewhat modified: a man need not always marry out of his own

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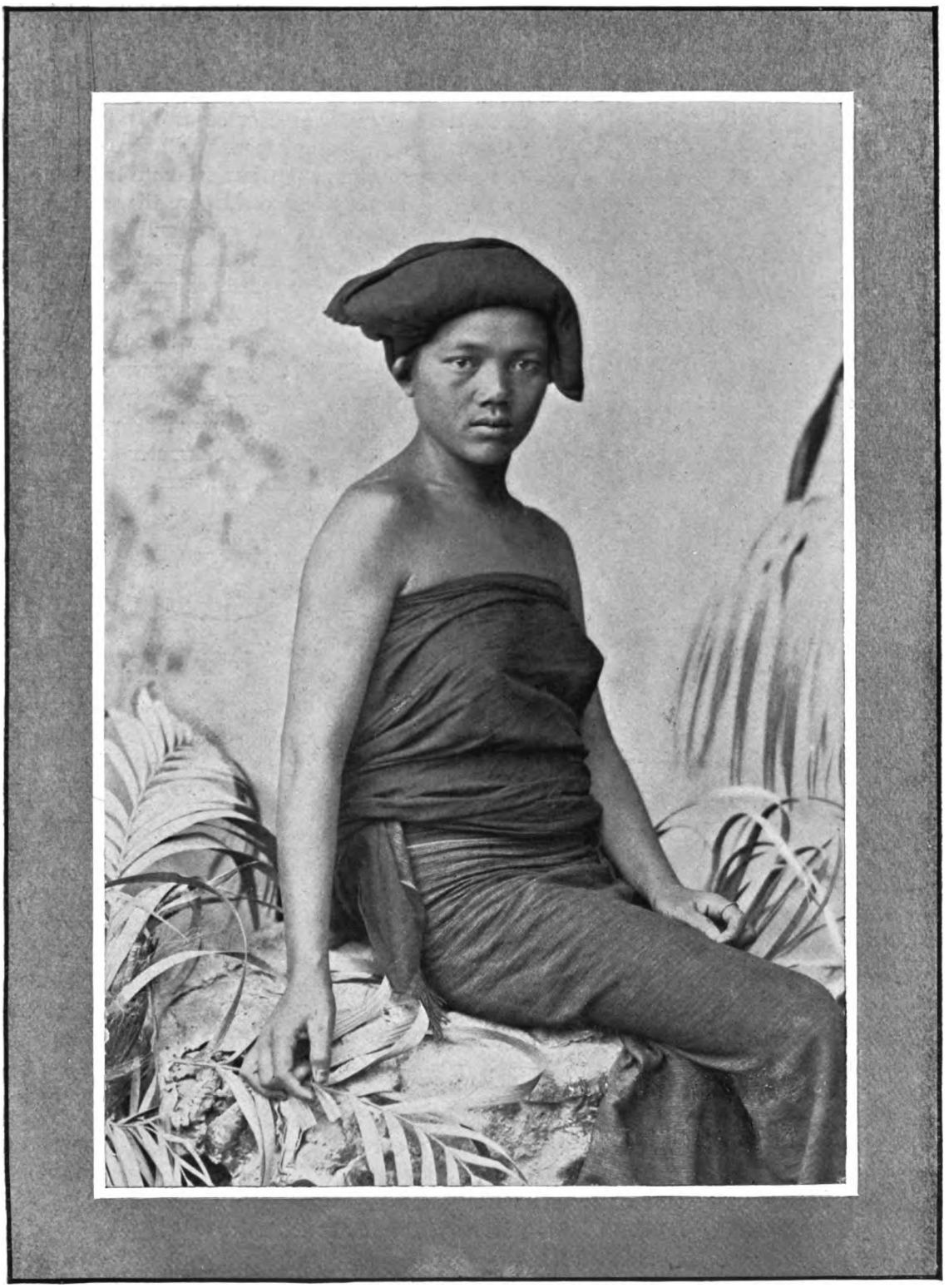

Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.

BATTAK WOMAN (SUMATRA).
Showing head-dress.

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village; he is allowed to bring up his children, and his property, on his death, goes to his wife and children; but he is compelled to live with his wife, or wife's parents, and he must ceremonially "cut" his parents-in-law.

In Borneo and the Minahassa district of Celebes the Matriarchate is in a degenerate condition, but there is evidence to show that once it was more fully developed. In Borneo, at the present day, there is no fixed rule as to exogamy: a man, as often as not, selects his wife from his own village or communal house, and she either lives with him, or he with her and her parents—that being a matter for mutual arrangement. It is forbidden for a man to mention the name of his parents-in-law, but he does not ignore them. After the birth of a child a Kenyah father loses his name, and is endowed with a new one which means "Father of X——" (his child). In the Minahassa district of Celebes a young married couple set up house for themselves, and the only trace of a former Matriarchal state is found in the custom which forbids a man to pronounce in full the name of his mother-in-law; *e.g.*, if her name is "Wenas" the son-in-law must abreviate it to "We," if "Mainalo" to "Maina."

The Law of Divorce.

According to Mohammedan law a woman cannot claim a divorce unless she can prove that her husband is unable to support her; he may desert her, and leave her without visible means of support, but still she has to prove that he is penniless himself before she can be freed. In the popular opinion of many Mohammedan countries of the East Indian Archipelago it has been felt that under this law the position of married women is rendered too precarious; and a new law has been grafted on the old one, whereby a man before making a marriage contract definitely promises to support his wife, and empowers her to claim a divorce if he fails to do so, if he deserts her, or if he takes to himself another wife: the promise is known as the *talik*. In Acheh the *talik* is omitted, for the reason that the woman loses nothing if deserted by her husband; she may be rendered unhappy, but she still has her home and her property, and her parents will provide for her if the produce of her property is insufficient; so that in this country it is the husband who is the chief loser by a divorce or separation.

The foregoing account will serve to show that where the Matriarchal state holds good, or did once hold good, there the position of woman is of some dignity and importance, and it need cause us no great surprise to learn that in former times queens ruled for brief periods both in Acheh and in Celebes; in the latter country at any rate they appear to have ruled in a masterly manner, and to have won their power not only by virtue of their descent from previous rulers, but through sheer force of character and highly developed instincts of power.

SUMATRA

The Achehnese.

The principal non-Malay tribes of Sumatra are: the Achehnese in the North, the Battaks in the North-East and East, the Rejangs and the Lampongs in the South and South-West.

The dress of the women consists of a petticoat which may reach to the feet or no lower than the knees; the upper part of the body is clad in a jacket which is discarded during work on the farms. The Acheh women wear, in addition to the petticoat or *sarong*, wide trousers, and across the body over the jacket a wide scarf, which also covers the head when necessary. Much of their cloth is woven by themselves, but Manchester piece-goods are bought from the ubiquitous Chinese trader. The hair is dressed in a variety of ways, and at festivals is adorned with pins and combs of admirable workmanship.

Curious Aids to Beauty.

The Rejangs flatten the noses of their children and manipulate their ears in order to get them to stand out from the head; the front teeth are either filed almost flush with the gums or else are sharpened to points. Metal bracelets and belts are worn, and in

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addition the women of the Padang highlands adorn the lower part of the leg with a series of tightly-fitting brass rings. Enormous ear ornaments of tin are worn by the Battak women. The tin is cast in bamboo cylinders of suitable diameter, and cut to the required length; the cylindrical rod so obtained is passed through a large hole pierced in the upper part of the ear and bent into a loop, the free ends of which are rolled up to form flat coils. Each ornament is about six inches long, and several ounces in weight; to prevent them from knocking against the face during active movement, they are clipped to the peculiar cloth headdress worn by these women, a fold of the cloth passing between the limbs of the loops of flexible tin.

The ear ornaments worn by the Rejang women are discs of filigree work fastened with a screw and nut attachment, and worn in the ear-lobe. Amongst the Achehnese the boring of the ears takes place at the early age of six or seven years, and the operation is attended with a good deal of ceremony, the child being taken in procession to the tomb of some saint, in order that the blessing of the saint may rest on the act. After the child has been sprinkled with flour and water, and rubbed behind the ears with a glutinous kind of rice, stained yellow with turmeric, the lobe of the ear is pierced either with a golden needle or a thorn.

Achehnese Marriage Customs.

Achehnese girls are married when they are eight to ten years old, and "one sees children whom we should deem of an age to be taken on the knee making purchases in the market in the capacity of matrons." * The following account of the marriage ceremonies applies to the Achehnese only. If a suitor does not present himself when a girl has arrived at the marriageable age, it is supposed that evil spirits are at work, and ceremonies are undertaken to counteract these influences. A girl is not supposed to marry beneath her station in life, and it is not considered fitting that she should be married before an elder sister.

An engagement in an Achehnese village is a very public affair, for the headman of the village has to be consulted as to the advisability of the match, the engagement presents, which generally take the form of a gold ring or hair ornament, and which are regarded as tokens of good faith, are delivered by the prospective bridegroom to the leading men of the village to be handed on by them to the parents of the bride. An engagement may last for one month or for twelve. At some time during this period the marriage contract is agreed upon and signed, and finally a day is fixed for the wedding.

The wedding day is preceded by three nights of feasting in the house of the bride's parents, and on the third night an important ceremony, known as the *andan*, takes place. This consists of shaving off some of the bride's hair, and is important because the bride, by submitting to it, openly declares that she is relinquishing her maiden state for married life. As long as she is unmarried a girl's hair is all drawn back off the forehead to the top and back of the head, but in the *andan* ceremony the shorter hairs are combed forwards and shaved off to the depth of one finger's breadth. Next evening the bridegroom is escorted to the bride's house by a body of his friends, and at the threshold is met by the bride's relatives; after a good deal of ceremonial cross-questioning and recitations, the bridegroom, who meanwhile has been hidden behind his friends, steps forward and enters the house. The bride is awaiting him in the inner room of the house, and the bridegroom takes his seat beside her on a mattress covered with cloth and finely woven mats. The maiden is supposed to be so bashful that her face is constantly concealed from view by a fan held by an ancient mistress of the ceremonies. She gives now a token of wifely obedience in the form of a long obeisance before her husband, who thereupon hands to her a small present of money.

The wedding-guests and fellow-villagers, who during all this time have been gaping with open-mouthed interest at the

* "The Achehnese," by Dr. Snouck Hergronje (English Translation).

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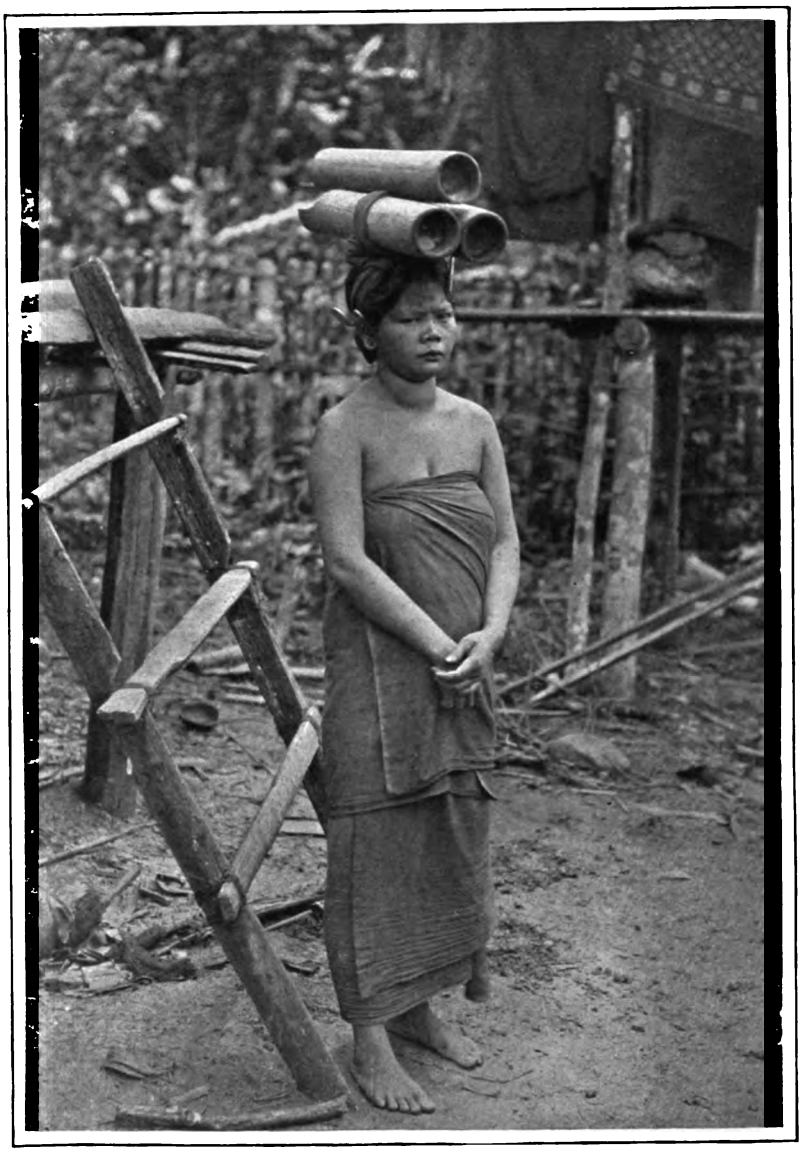

Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.

BATTAK WOMAN (SUMATRA)

Carrying water vessels of bamboo. Note the ornaments in the upper part of the ear.

proceedings, are then served with a feast in the outer verandah of the house, whilst the young couple partake of a meal out of a common dish in the inner room. After the meal both are smeared behind the ears with glutinous rice, the idea of this ceremony being to confirm them in well-being and to ward off evil influences.

Throughout the Malay Archipelago happiness and goodness are associated with coolness, evil with heat, and under many circumstances heat, which is synonymous with evil, is averted by cooling the object or individual likely to be subjected to it with libations of water, or anointings with clay, or a peculiar glutinous rice.

Towards morning the bridegroom leaves the house and returns to his own home; he is not permitted to share the couch of his bride till the following night, and it is some time before he takes up his permanent abode in the house of his wife's parents.

Polygamy is unusual in Acheh, and it is only the rich who can afford it. If a man of rank and importance in a certain village marries a girl of some other village, it is impossible for him to live always with

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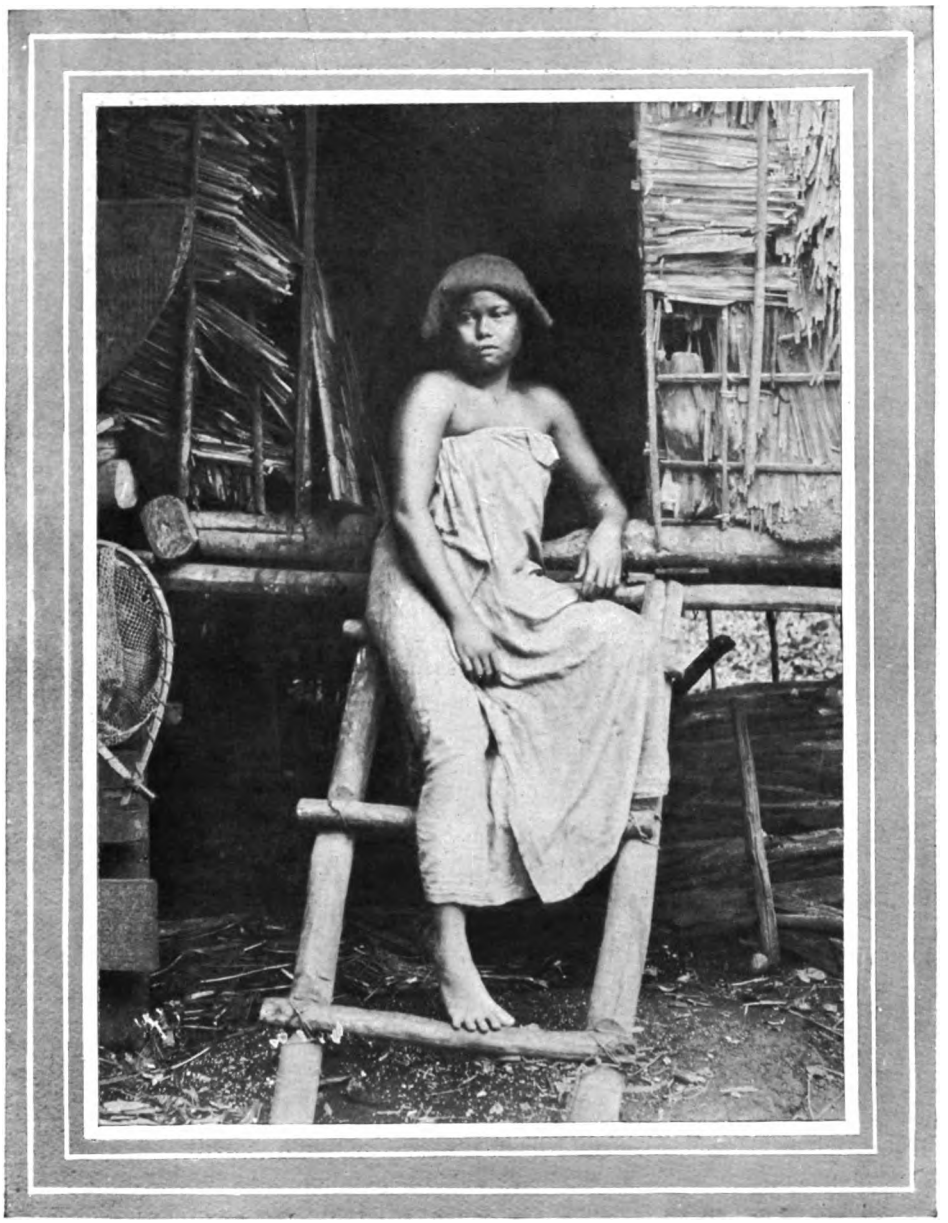
her, for this would entail the neglect of the duties and business which demand his attention in the home of his birth; it is contrary to law for his wife to leave her village and live in her husband's. The result of this state of affairs is, that a man with a wife in a distant village consoles himself for his frequent and enforced absences with one or more wives nearer home.

Polygamy and Divorce in Acheh.

Divorce is a simple process. If a couple desires to separate, the man takes three pieces of betel-nut, and hands them one by one to his wife, saying, "One divorce, two divorces, three divorces, thou art to me but as a sister in this world and the next." Notice of the divorce is then given to the head-man of the village, and the matter is at an end. The betel-nut is so intimately associated with divorce, that a woman in a



Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.

BATTAK WOMAN (SUMATRA).

The houses are built on piles. This woman is seated on the front door steps.

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passion with her husband will exclaim, "Give me then the three pieces of betel-nut."

Battak Marriage by Capture.

Amongst the Battaks, whilst exogamy is insisted on, marriage by capture is the universal custom, and a man will steal his wife by night from some neighbouring village, and carry her off to his own home, leaving behind him a small sum of money as a compensation for the theft. Nowadays the whole operation is purely ceremonial, and the parents of the girl are well aware when her abduction is planned, and when it takes place.

Polygamy is the rule rather than the exception, and a man may have as many as six wives, who all live in one large room; to each is allotted a separate cooking place and cooking utensils, and it is their duty to prepare in turn the meals of their sovereign lord and master. Amongst these people the position of women is not nearly so advantageous as in other parts of the archipelago, and men frequently sell their wives and children, and at all times treat them as little better than slaves. The Lampongs regard this form of marriage as disgraceful.

Marriage by Purchase.

Marsden, in his "History of Sumatra," states that amongst the Rejangs two forms of marriage exist, one which is similar to that found in Acheh, the other in which the bridegroom pays compensation for his wife, as with the Battaks: in the latter case the bridegroom, when escorting the bride to his house, takes care to tread on her big toe to signify that she is his property.

Birth Customs in Acheh.

In Acheh a pregnant woman is forced to observe all sorts of taboos. For example, she must not sit at the top of the steps leading up to the house lest her labour be difficult; nor should she be allowed to see monkeys, lest her child resemble them; if her husband goes out in the evening he must not return direct to the house, for if he does so the *burong*, an evil spirit that once dwelt in the body of an unchaste woman, will follow him in.

Great precautions are taken to prevent the entry of the *burong* to a house in which lie a woman and her new-born child; the stairway is guarded by ropes of rattan or palm fibre, and charms and pieces of malodorous bark are hung round the bed of the mother.

Directly after the birth of a child, the mother is laid on a platform under which is an oven that is kept supplied with fuel for forty-four days. The unfortunate patient endures agonies of thirst during this period of torture, but is only allowed to drink a little tea or pineapple juice; water must on no account be given to her. At the end of the forty-four days she is allowed to rise and is given a bath, to which is added the juice of sour oranges. On account of their early marriages Sumatran wives bear children long before they are twenty years of age, and at thirty they are too old to expect further additions to their families.

Sumatran Children.

A child is carried straddling across one hip of the mother, and supported by a cloth band which passes across the body of the mother and is knotted on the opposite shoulder. Children are suckled till they are two or three years old, but are soon taught to walk and to look after themselves; in fact, it may be said of them, as it has been said of Malay children, that they can walk, swim, and smoke before they are weaned.

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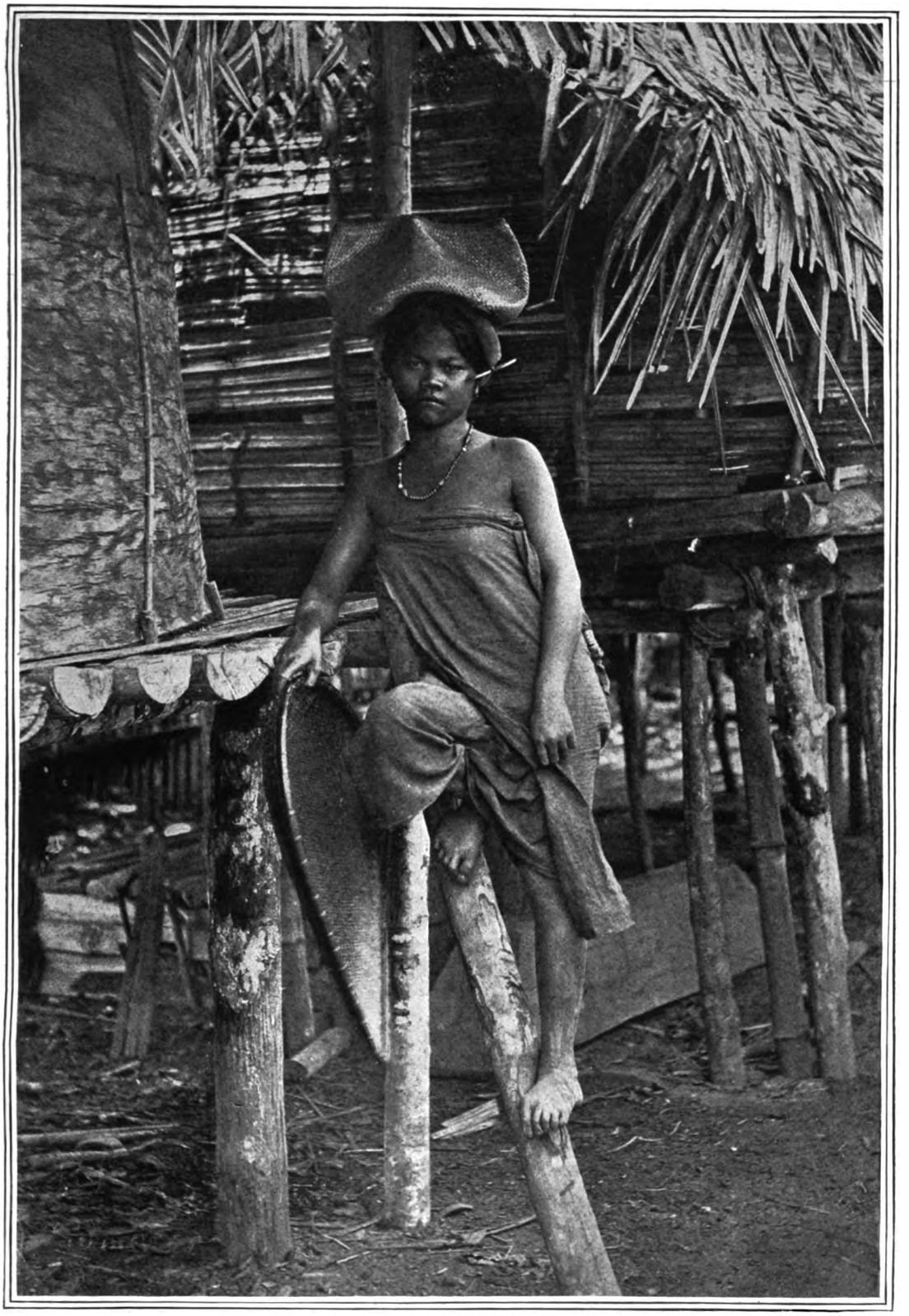

Photograph by G. Lambert, Singapore.

BATTAK WOMAN (SUMATRA)

Resting on the notched log which serves as a ladder to the house. She holds a winnowing basket in her right hand, and has a basketful of rice on her head.

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Photograph by H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.

LAND-DAYAK WOMEN.
Wearing brass and shell armlets and leglets.

II

Types of Borneo—Mutilating Customs—Ear Ornaments—A Curious Corset—The Dayaks' Cylindrical Corset—Brass Ornaments—Dayak Necklets—Dress in Borneo—Tattooing in Borneo—Tattoo Class Marks—Woman's Work in Borneo—Women as Witch Doctors—Marriage Customs—Head Hunting and Courtship—Density of Population—Javanese Class Distinctions—Dancing Girls of the Harem—Other Dancing Girls—Women as Agricultural Labourers—General Position of Women in Java—Manners and Attractions of Javanese Women—Betrothal and Marriage—A Curious Tribe and its Wedding Customs—Balinese Beauties—Dress in Bali—Sacrifice of Widows—A High Code of Honour—Christianity and its Influence—Celebean Costume—Betrothal and Marriage in Celebes—The Importance of the Betel Nut—The Price of a Bride—The Women of Goa—Dress in Central Celebes—Weaving in Celebes—Papuan Influences

BORNEO

THE numerous tribes of Borneo may be grouped for the sake of convenience into three main divisions: (1) a narrow-headed stock, typically Indonesian in their characteristics, and dwelling in the extreme north-east, the extreme north-west, and sporadically in the central highlands; (2) a broader-headed, Proto-Malayan stock, the Sea-Dayaks, whose headquarters are the centre of Sarawak; (3) the Kenyahs and Kayans, who may be regarded as intermediate in their physical characteristics between typical Indonesians and typical Proto-Malayans.

Types of Borneo.

Fashion is a singularly hard task-mistress in Borneo, and there are few tribes whose women-folk do not mutilate some part of their persons or who do not wear some galling and irksome ornament. Amongst many of the Indonesian tribes, such as the Kanowits

Mutilating Customs.

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and Tanjongs, and amongst the Kenyahs and Kayans, distortion of the ears is carried to an excess. Girls at the tender age of two or three years have the lobes of the ears bored, and heavy weights are suspended from them, so that in course of time this part of the ear is pulled out into a slender loop of skin as many as seven inches long. The ideal aimed at is to stretch the loop until it can actually be passed over the head, but this is seldom attained, and often one of the loops breaks under the strain of the increasing weight of ornament. The broken ends may be spliced together and heal perfectly, but there is always a marked shortening of that loop, which is considered a grave blemish to beauty.

The ornaments worn in these elongated ear-lobes weigh anything from four to ten ounces, and are spiral coils of tin, copper or brass, or else pear-shaped ear-drops of the same metals or of stone. Some Indonesian women, *e.g.*, the Punans, Milanos, and Kadayans, wear plugs of wood, silver or gold one to two inches in diameter, in the distended ear-lobes; even an empty cotton reel, with one flange cut off, is often made to do duty as an ornament. Sea-Dayak women wear studs of copper or lead in the ears, but though the head of the stud is a disc of one inch or more in diameter, the shank and foot are small, and the orifice in the ear-lobe is not unduly distended.

Ear Ornaments.

The Sea-Dayak woman, if less of a martyr to fashion in the matter of ear-ornaments than her Kayan and Kenyah sisters, nevertheless finds it essential to wear on special occasions an ornament that must be, to the tyro at any rate, a veritable instrument of torture. It is known as the *rawai*, and consists of several circles of tightly rolled strips of Pandanus leaf on which are

A Curious Corset.

Photograph by H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.

TANJONG WOMEN (SARAWAK, BORNEO)

Weaving baskets of bemban grass. The second woman from the right and the woman on the left wear heavy brass ear-rings, which have pulled the lobes of the ears into long loops.

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threaded innumerable little brass rings; the circles are pinned together with brass rods, and the whole forms a more or less flexible cylinder, which is worn round the bust and waist. Sometimes this corset is

Photograph by H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.

LAND-DAYAK GIRL (SARAWAK, BORNEO).
With brass wire and shell armlets.

made so as to open down the front, fastening by means of a simple form of catch, in which case the donning or doffing of it is a simple matter. But more often the corset has no such opening, and it must then be worked into position over the head and shoulders, the arms being held up above the head during the process. If the corset fits at all tightly the operation is a lengthy one, and a woman who has just undergone the pain and trouble of beautifying herself thinks twice about removing the embellishment until some days or perhaps weeks have elapsed. Since, in addition to the *rawai*, a Sea-Dayak belle will have also her arms and the lower parts of her legs encased in coils of brass wire, her dead weight is somewhat considerable when all her finery is worn, and it has happened more than once that such a brass-bound beauty, falling into a river from a bridge or through the capsizing of a canoe, has been drowned, notwithstanding her admirable swimming powers.

The Dayak Cylindrical Corset.

The corset worn by the Indonesian Land-Dayaks* still more recalls a strait-jacket, for it is a cylinder of bark, covered with vertical strips of brass wire clipped over the edges of the cylinder; it has no opening down the sides, front or back, and it is absolutely inflexible. It is only worn by unmarried girls, and once on it is seldom taken off; in fact, it is only when the prolonged chafing of the edges of the corset and of the ends of the brass wires has produced galls and open sores, that a girl calls on a friend to assist her to rid herself of her uncomfortable ornament.

Brass Ornaments.

Some of the Land-Dayak tribes do not wear this corset, but sheathe the arms and lower part of the legs in brass-wire rings with white shell armlets interspersed; the rings on the legs fit very closely, and in course of time produce considerable distortion of the calf-muscles. The brass ornaments are always highly polished, and with the glistening shell armlets impart a very picturesque appearance to the wearer; indeed, the writer can remember no prettier spectacle than that which met his eyes one evening when, as he and his crew were laboriously forcing their way up the rapid stream of the Upper Sarawak river, he was overtaken by a canoe containing half-a-dozen Land-

* The name Land-Dayak is rather unfortunate, since it leads to confusion with the very different Sea-Dayak. We owe it to the first Rajah of Sarawak, Sir James Brooke, who was one of the first to realise that the "Dayaks" of Borneo were not all of one stock.

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Dayak women poling their frail craft with great precision and swiftness over the purling shallows and foaming rapids. With their beautiful brown skins glistening in the rays of the dying sun that sparkled on their brass and shell ornaments, they formed a perfect picture of young and vigorous womanhood.

Dayak Necklets.

Bead necklets are a common form of ornament, but with some Land-Dayak tribes they are, in addition, a badge of office worn by female witch-doctors or *borich;* all sorts of charms of wondrous magical properties are attached to the necklets, and hang down the back of the wearer. The Muruts of the Limbang river in north-east Sarawak are said by Spencer to wear round the neck "a couple of fathoms of brass wire, rising from the shoulders to the chin, forming what appears a stiff collar with a very broad base." This seems to be similar to the brass-ring collar worn by the Padaung women of the Shan States in Burma.

Dress in Borneo.

The dress of a Bornean woman, apart from her ornaments, is not elaborate, for it consists of little more than a skirt which may reach no further than the knees, as amongst the Sea-Dayaks, Muruts, Kalabits, and Land-Dayaks, or else to the feet. The skirt of the Kayan and Kenyah women is slit down the side, so that one leg is exposed to view during movements of any activity. Sometimes a short jacket is worn, but more usually the upper part of the body is uncovered. The Tanjongs and Milanos wear a long jacket cut low at the neck and with tight sleeves, along the lower part of which a row of gilt or silver buttons is sewn. Unmarried Dusun girls cover the breasts with a strip of cloth kept in position by coils of split rattan stained red with dragon's blood. When working on their farms large sun-hats, one to two feet in diameter, made of palm-leaf, are worn; they vary in shape from conical to flat discs, and are generally decorated with bead-work ornaments or plaited and dyed designs. To the centre of the hat on the inside is attached a cap of plaited material that fits the head. Seen from a distance women with this head-gear appear like gigantic animated mushrooms. The saucer-like sun-hats of the Brunei Malays are so huge that a woman, crouching in a canoe by merely tilting her head towards the observer, can conceal the whole of her person from a too inquisitive gaze.

Photograph by H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.

SEA-DAYAK UNMARRIED GIRL.

Showing dress and ornaments. Note the tiara and brass rings round the neck; she does not wear the *rawai* or wire corset.

Tattooing in Borneo.

No account of feminine embellishment in Borneo would be complete without some reference to tattoo. The Kayan women tattoo most extensively and elaborately; the whole of the forearms, the back of the hands, the thighs and the upper surface of the feet

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being covered with intricate, and, in some cases, beautiful designs. The pigment used is a compound of soot and sugar-cane juice or water, and the designs appear in a dark blue colour, producing a likeness to skin-tight knickerbockers and mittens.

The process of tattooing is a lengthy one; it extends over three or four years, and as it is performed by means of rusty needle-points embedded in a wooden handle, and driven into the skin by repeated blows with a light hammer, most exquisite pain is caused. Frequently the operation has to be suspended, owing to the patient being thrown into a high fever. Since no antiseptic precautions of any sort are ever taken, it is remarkable that extensive ulceration of the wounded parts does not occur; but as a matter of fact the designs are seldom marred by the formation of scar-tissue.

Tattoo Class Marks.

The women of a Kayan tribe are divided into three classes, the relations of the chief, the free women, and the slaves, and the social status of a woman can be determined by the character of her tattoo designs—the more elaborate the design, the higher her rank. The Kenyahs only tattoo the forearms, hands and feet; Murut women tattoo the entire length of the arm to the finger-tips with fine longitudinal lines; Kalabit women tattoo weird geometrical designs on the shin and calf of the leg; the Long Glats of the central highlands tattoo representations of the hornbill's head and of the Argus pheasant's flight-feathers on the thigh and forearm. In fact the practice of tattoo is widely spread throughout the island, and the number of the designs is legion.

The origin of their tattoo is obscure, and the natives themselves, in attempting to explain it, can only put forward strange beliefs in its efficacy as a light to lighten their darkness in the next world, as a means of recognition after death, or as a passport to a magic river in the world beyond the grave, in whose bed many pearls are to be found.

As in the other islands of Malaya, the Bornean woman, unless she happens to be the wife or daughter of a chief in the feudal tribes of the Kayans and Kenyahs, works hard at tilling the communal rice-fields, clearing the ground, sowing the seed and reaping the harvest side by side with the men. A mother may frequently be seen amongst the labourers with her infant tied on to her back by a band of cloth, or seated in a wooden sling which is suspended by straps from her shoulders. If there is no work to be done on the farm, then it is a woman's task to husk the rice for the general consumption. The unhusked rice or *padi* is placed in a large wooden mortar and is pounded with a heavy pestle. Two women take part in the operation, pounding with alternate blows, and the thud of the pestle is one of the characteristic sounds in a Bornean house.

Women's Work in Borneo.

Water for drinking purposes is brought up from the river by the women. It is carried in lengths of bamboo held in a sling basket, and is poured into jars kept in the house.

The Sea-Dayak women weave from cotton thread of their own manufacture a strong cloth with a two- or three-colour design in it, the designs being produced by what is known as a "stop-out" process. The warp threads are stretched on a frame, and bundles of the threads are tied up here and there with strips of palm-leaf, the position of these tied-up bundles depending on the character of the desired design. The warp is then dipped into a red dye, and on removal from it the palm-leaf strips are cut off, and the design appears in the natural colour of the thread against a red background, or *vice versa*, according as the "stopping-out" has been arranged. If a third colour is required, the palm-leaf strips are not cut off on removal from the red dye, but more are added, and the warp goes then into a blue dye, which, of course, acts only on the uncovered portions of the warp threads. Finally, the warp is stretched on a simple loom, and an undyed weft is woven in. The illustration on p. 175 shows a woman tying up the warp-threads; frames holding the unwoven fabric in various stages are

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KENYAH-KAYAN GIRL: SARAWAK, BORNEO.
DRAWN BY NORMAN H. HARDY.

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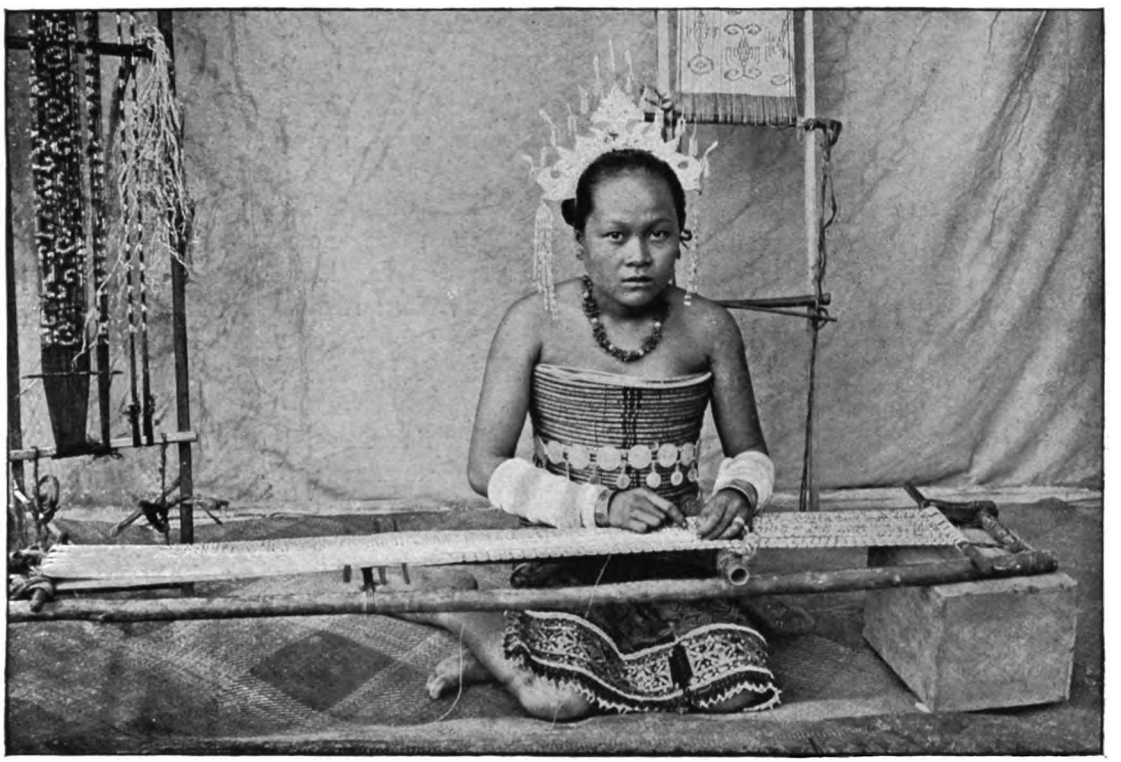
in the background: the woman wears a petticoat of cloth of her own manufacture.

Amongst the Kayans and many Indonesian tribes, such as the Land-Dayaks, Long Wai and Trings, the witch-doctors are women, and by virtue of their supposed power over evil spirits, their services tures occasionally take to themselves "husbands," and though the "husbands" are objects of scornful derision to the tribe, the witch-doctor's authority is increased by his entry into the state of pseudo-matrimony.

Weddings are not attended with a great deal of ceremony, and are conducted very



Photograph by H.H. the Rane of Sarawak.

SEA-DAYAK WOMAN (SARAWAK, BORNEO).

With *rawai* or brass corset, silver tiara and shell ornaments. She is preparing a warp of cotton thread for dyeing, as described in the text (p. 174).

are much in request. All savage folk attribute most forms of disease to the possession of the patient's body by some demon that has taken the place temporarily of the patient's soul. The witch-doctors, by means of ceremonies, incantations, and charms, can exorcise the evil spirit and retrieve the wandering soul of the sick person, and this they are always ready to do for a fee which sometimes is exorbitant. The Sea-Dayaks employ male witch-doctors, but those who inspire most confidence are men who have assumed the dress, voice, and habits of women. These emasculated creamuch in the same way as described in connection with the Achehnese of Sumatra.

Women as Witch-Doctors.

Marriage Customs.

There is the same preliminary discussion of the terms of the marriage contract: the bridegroom is escorted to the bride's house by a band of comrades, or he receives the bride in his own home. The young couple are smeared on the forehead and breast with glutinous rice stained yellow with turmeric, and are exhorted by an ancient man or woman of the tribe to increase and multiply. At a Sea-Dayak wedding there takes place the ceremony of *blah pinang*, or splitting the betel-nut. One or two betel-nuts are divided into

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eight pieces, which are supposed to represent the husband's responsibilities, and these are laid on a plate. Another betel-nut is divided into seven pieces representing the wife's duties; these are put on the same plate, which is then covered with a cloth and

Photograph by H.H. the Ranee of Sarawak.

LAND-DAYAK *BORICH* OR FEMALE WITCH-DOCTORS.

Bundles of curative charms are attached to their bead necklets. They are believed to control evil spirits and all diseases.

placed on one side. After a decent interval the cloth is removed and the pieces of betel-nut are examined: should there be more than fifteen pieces, prosperity for the young couple is assured, but should there be fewer then disaster is prophesied. The whole proceeding is nowadays nothing more than a mere ceremony, and fifteen pieces of betel-nut are always to be found on the plate; but perhaps at some former time the officiating priest or priestess by sleight-of-hand added to or subtracted from the number, the action being determined by the nature of the fee that was paid.

Divorce is common—sterility, incompatibility of temper, or even a dream of ill-omen, being sufficient cause for a separation. It is no unusual thing among the Sea-Dayaks for a young bachelor to visit at night the couch of his inamorata, but it by no means follows that immorality thereupon takes place. The lovers converse and play to each other on the jew's-harp, in the strains of which they fancy they can express more passionately their mutual affection. If a girl, as a result of these nocturnal visits, becomes pregnant, her lover is almost invariably ready to marry her; even if he were reluctant to do so, he would be afraid to face the storm of hostile criticism which would be raised by all his friends and neighbours.

Head-hunting and Courtship.

The possession of one or more heads of enemies slain in battle is a great asset to a young man when he goes a-wooing; his reputation as a man of valour is established, and the marriageable maidens of the district regard him with as much admiration as Mary Jane displays towards her Life-guardsman. A desire to excite feminine admiration has been sometimes given as an excuse by head-hunting culprits when arraigned before a court of justice, but it need not be supposed that in this desire is to be found the origin of the barbarous custom.

To recover the affection of a fickle lover, love-potions are concocted, the principal ingredient of which is coco-nut oil. This is smeared on the body of the man or on his bedding and clothes when he is asleep, and an incantation is uttered to invoke the aid of the spirits.

JAVA

Java is the only tropical island in the world with a dense, indigenous population. Thirty millions of people, not including

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Europeans, Malays or Chinese, occupy this island of 50,000 square miles in extent.

Density of Population.

Hindu and Mohammedan civilisations existed here for long ages before the advent of the European, but in spite of that, and in spite of their Mohammedan religion, the people to-day exhibit in a thousand ways the primitive characters of the Indonesian race. The Sundanese of Western Java, the Javanese proper of Mid and Eastern Java, the Tenggerese of the Eastern highlands, and the decadent Kalangs scattered here and there throughout the island, are the component tribes of this vast population.

Photograph by Mr. Shelford

KADAYAN WOMEN (BORNEO).

Note the tight-sleeved jackets with rows of buttons.

On account of its ancient civilisation we find in Java a sharp line drawn between an aristocratic ruling class and a servile plebeian class, such as we find nowhere else in the Malay Archipelago. Among the Bornean Kayan the chief owns slaves, rules his village with a rod of iron, and toils not in the fields, but he

Javanese Class Distinctions.

lives in the communal house of his tribe, and there is little to distinguish him in dress from his subjects. But in Java the sultans live in palaces, and maintain a very considerable pomp and majesty.

Every sultan and a few nobles have large harems, some of the inmates of which are trained dancers, who perform on state occasions. The dance is called the *s'rimpi*, and is a figure-dance in which four performers take part to the accompaniment of an orchestra of gongs, harmonicums, and viols. The girls, none of whom exceed more than fourteen or fifteen years of age, are clad in gorgeous silk petticoats reaching to the ground, and fastened round the waist with a girdle of gold plates joined by slender chains; the upper part of the body is enclosed in a kind of corset passing above the bosom and under the arms, and confining the waist to the smallest possible compass. A silken sash is thrown over the shoulders, and is an important adjunct in the waving motions of the hands and arms in the dance. A tiara of gold studded with precious stones, richly chased armlets, bracelets, and finger-rings, complete the attire of these damsels. The music of the orchestra

Dancing Girls of the Harem.

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is slow and solemn, and the dance consists of little else than graceful movements of the upper part of the body and arms, with an occasional change of the position of the performers. When the dance is at an end, the performers sink to the ground, and after a low obeisance to their sultan sit with downcast eyes, whilst elderly duennas put straight their dress and hair which may have become disarranged in the dance.

Other Dancing Girls.

The *bedaya* is a figure-dance for eight persons, and is performed by the concubines of a noble, though, as there are few nobles who can afford to maintain a sufficient number of trained dancers, the parts are often taken by boys. The *ronggeng* are the common dancing girls of the country, and are frequently to be seen in the west of the island. They hire themselves out to dance at feasts, and are ready to give their services at any time of the day or night. In their dress they ape the fashions of the *s'rimpi* dancers, but cotton takes the place of silk, and white metal and glass ornaments replace the jewels of the royal concubines In the dance the arms and fingers are sometimes bent backwards at unnatural angles, and one finger is occasionally made to quiver tremulously. To the European eye the dance is singularly unpleasing, though exceptions are met with. They accompany their dance with song, which is often composed on the spur of the moment, and abounds in references to topical interests, provoking loud applause from the spectators. Women are included in the travelling theatrical companies which are so popular in Java; they take the parts of mythical heroines and of the *widadari*, or heavenly nymphs, who were bestowed on the prince Arjuna by the gods Indra and Brahma as a reward for his conquest of the giants.

Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

YOUNG BATAVIAN WOMAN, JAVA

Java is a country smiling with fertility, and the cultivation of rice has been brought to a very high pitch of perfection. In the west, square miles of land are terraced, and the terraces rising tier upon tier on the hillsides are fed by running streams of water, for the Javanese grow their rice in wet soil, not on dry soil as do most of the Borneans. The banking of the terraces, the cutting of channels for the irrigating streams, sowing, planting out the young plants, and harvesting involves an immensity of labour in which the women bear an equal share with the men. In the east of the island sugar-cane plantations, owned by Chinese and Dutch companies, largely take the place of the rice-fields of the west, and in these plantations as many women work as coolies as men.

Women as Agricultural Labourers.

Women in Java, if they do not exert so powerful an influence in domestic and village affairs as in Borneo and Sumatra, nevertheless are far from occupying a menial position. The man in a Javanese household leaves much of the business of selling the produce of his land to his women-folk, and in the crowded market-places of the towns the majority of the stalls are kept by women;

General Position of Women in Java.

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and, as the writer can testify, a Javanese woman can drive a harder bargain than her good man. A feature of these market-places is the number of European sewing-machines all working at full speed. Many people buy at a stall cloth for a jacket or petticoat, and having bought what they want they get it made up into the required article on the spot. The sewing-machines are driven by men, not by women.

Manners and Attractions of Javanese Women.

The Javanese, in their works on manners and ethics, have laid down the qualities of a good wife. Here are two quotations :— "She must be well made and well mannered, gentle, industrious, rich, liberal, charming, of good birth, upright and humble. A stingy, curious, dirty, foul-mouthed, vulgar, false, intriguing, lazy and stupid woman is not only unfit for a housewife, but will never be beloved by a husband." "A woman who loves her husband so tenderly, that at his death she wishes to die with him, or surviving never marries again, but lives as if she were dead to the world, is valued above all others of her sex." *

Betrothal and Marriage.

Children of tender years are frequently betrothed, but they are not married until they have reached a suitable age. As elsewhere in Malaya, a Javanese marriage contract is the subject of much discussion between the parents and relations of the contracting parties. If the match is considered suitable, the bridegroom sends to his prospective bride a present, the value of which is dependent on his position in life; if the bridegroom subsequently repudiates his promised word, the disappointed girl is allowed to retain this present, but on the other hand it must be returned to the donor if the obstacles to the completion of the marriage originate with her. On the wedding day the bridegroom proceeds with his father and other male relatives to the mosque, and after informing the priest that he is willing to pay the necessary fees, the marriage is sanctified by the priest in words to the following effect :—"I join you X—— in marriage with Y—— with a pledge of two reals weight in gold or silver. You take Y—— to be your wife for this world. You are obliged to pay the pledge of your marriage or to remain debtor for the same. You are responsible for your wife in all things. If you should happen to be absent from her for the space of seven months on shore, or one year at sea, without giving her any subsistence, and are remiss in the performance of the duties which you owe to your sovereign, your marriage shall be dissolved, if your wife requires it, without any further form or process; and you will be, besides, subject to the punishment which the Mohammedan law dictates." *

The latter part of this injunction is the *talik*, to which reference has already been made (p. 164) as illustrating the less advantageous position occupied by Javanese women than by women in countries where the matriarchal state is upheld; in those countries the *talik* is omitted as unnecessary. After the ceremony the bridegroom and his party proceed to the bride's house with as much pomp as is compatible with their rank and station in life. In some districts the bride and bridegroom on first meeting simultaneously hurl at each other a bundle of *siri* leaves, one of the principal ingredients of the betel-nut quid; the one who succeeds in hitting the other in the face with the missile is regarded as likely to be the dominant partner in the married state. The bride then makes a low obeisance to the bridegroom in token of her wifely submission, and both enter the house, where, seated apart from the wedding guests, they share a meal and chew betel-nut and *siri* together. Ceremonial calls must be paid on following days on the bridegroom's parents and relatives before the young couple settle down in their own house, which may be situated in the bride's native village or in that of the bridegroom.

Amongst the Tenggerese, a people who have preserved their primitive customs, curiously intermixed with Hindu rites, the

* Raffles' "History of Java."

* Raffles' "History of Java."

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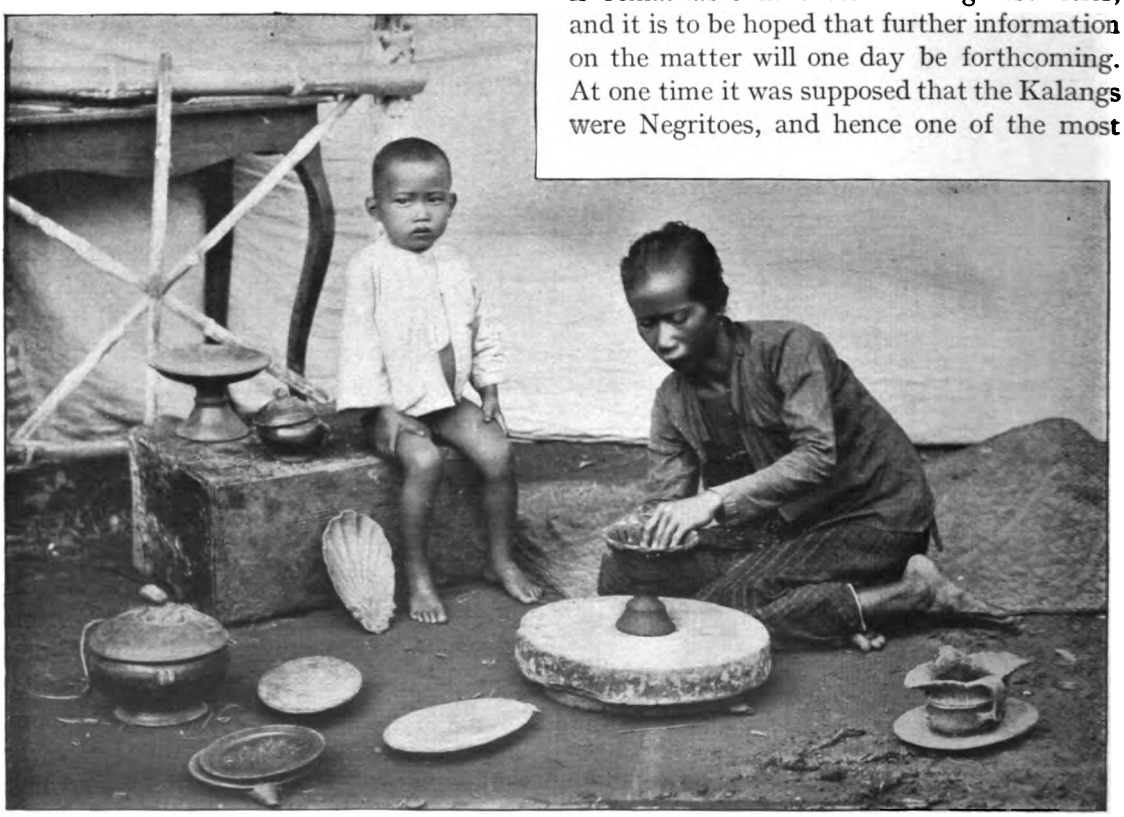
marriage ceremony is rather different from that described above. The bride and bridegroom are brought before one of the priests or *dukun* of the village, and bow, first to the south, then to the hearth, then to the earth, and then to the upper storey of the house where the implements of husbandry are stored. These obeisances completed, the *dukun* recites a prayer addressed to Brahma, while the bride washes the bridegroom's feet; presents are given to the newly-wed pair by their relatives, and in return betel-nut is accepted. The usual feasting follows, but the marriage is not actually consummated till the fifth day after the ceremony, a restriction that is observed occasionally in other districts of Java.

A Curious Tribe and its Wedding Customs.

The much-despised Kalangs are one of the many savage tribes that regard the dog with great veneration, and they trace their descent from an unnatural alliance between a princess and a chief who had been transformed into a dog. When a young man of this tribe demands the hand of a girl in marriage he must prove his descent from a pure Kalang stock. On the wedding day, a buffalo's head covered with white, red, or black rice-powder is placed on the ground near the place on which the nuptial couch is laid; the wedding guests dance in pairs, at the end of each dance presenting the bride to the bridegroom, and making suitable offerings to them. The bridegroom, who is accompanied to the bride's house by his friends, must bring with him as a marriage portion a pair of buffaloes, a plough, harrow, hoe, whip, and a sheaf of rice. The bodies of the bride and bridegroom are rubbed with the ashes of a red dog's bones, and at sunset they both eat rice out of the same dish. On the following night they partake of the buffalo's head, which is previously laid by the place where they sleep. Ceremonial calls on neighbours and relations are paid on following days. There is much that is remarkable in these wedding festivities, and it is to be hoped that further information on the matter will one day be forthcoming. At one time it was supposed that the Kalangs were Negritoes, and hence one of the most



Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

JAVANESE WOMAN (KEDIRI PROVINCE).
Making pottery on a primitive wheel.

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Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

JAVANESE WOMEN MAKING *BATIK* SARONGS.

The background of the pattern is laid on with melted wax; the cloth is then dyed and the wax is removed with boiling water, leaving the dark pattern against an undyed background. The process is repeated for every colour employed.

primitive tribes known to exist, but it is now certain that they are of Indonesian stock, and it is probable that they are the remnants of a race once spread throughout Java before the immigration of the Tenggerese, Sundanese, and Javanese proper.

BALI.

A young Balinese woman is a physically perfect specimen of humanity, and by virtue of bearing loads on her head instead of on the back, acquires a carriage and deportment that would have delighted the heart of a Greek sculptor. This method of carrying loads, though common enough in Africa and India, is unusual in the Malay Archipelago, and it is interesting to notice that Bali is the only Malayan island in which the Hindu religion persists at the present day.

Balinese Beauties.

The only garment worn by a Balinese woman of the lower class is a long dark blue skirt; the upper part of the body is uncovered, though occasionally a light scarf is thrown round the neck. In Lombok, where many Balinese are found, a dark blue jacket is worn in addition to the skirt. The ear-lobes are pierced, and in the enlarged hole a roll of palm-leaf is worn by the lower-class women, a gold or silver ear-plug by the wealthy.

Dress in Bali.

Men carry off or elope with their brides, leaving behind them a compensation for the parents in the form of a money payment or in kind. Formerly it was customary for a widow to follow her husband's corpse to the funeral pyre, and to seek death in the flames that consumed her dear departed. The death of a rajah entailed the sacrifice not only of his widow, but of many of the women of his household. Crawford* relates that no fewer than seventy-four women voluntarily sacrificed themselves at the burning of the corpse of a rajah of Boeliling; they were borne to the funeral pyre in litters, were then stabbed, stripped naked, and cast into the flames. The female relatives of the rajah, on account of their high rank, could not be touched by the profane hands of the executioners, but climbed on to a

Sacrifice of Widows.

* "Journal of the Indian Archipelago."

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scaffolding built over the fire, and leapt down into it.

A High Code of Honour.

Under Dutch rule these horrible sacrifices of life have been sternly forbidden, but a recent incident shows that the Balinese, under certain circumtances, regard their honour as of more account than death. The Dutch were engaged in the suppression of a rebellion in Bali, and readers of English newspapers must have been horrified to see one morning an account of an attack on a Bali stronghold, in which numbers of women and children were slain. The incident, however, was explained satisfactorily as a case of suicide, the men, women, and children in the fortress destroying themselves rather than surrender.

CELEBES.

Christianity and its influence.

Much less is known of this island than of those that are collectively termed the Great and the Lesser Sunda Islands. Parts of it are still unexplored, and it is only from the more civilised districts that we have much information of the customs of the inhabitants. The Minahassa district in the north is perhaps the best known part of the island, just as it is certainly the most beautiful. The Dutch have been established there for some time, and Christianity has been introduced with conspicuous success amongst the natives.

Celebean Costume.

The women nowadays wear the costume affected by Dutch ladies during the heat of the day. It consists of a short white jacket or *kabaya*, fastened down the front by brooches or pins, and a coloured petticoat or *sarong* reaching to the ankles.

In pre-Christian times descent was traced through the female line, and the husband lived with his wife's people, but now a married couple set up their own establishment. A mock marriage ceremony was often held with children of five to nine years old acting the leading parts of bride and bridegroom; a feast was held, the spirits were invoked to shower blessings on the twain, and food was offered to the dogs of the village.

Betrothal and Marriage in Celebes.

At the termination of the ceremony the children returned to their respective homes with their parents, and were not regarded as irrevocably betrothed to each other; in fact, as often as not on arriving at a marriageable age they were joined in wedlock to other contemporaries. A Minahassa maiden exercises much more freedom in the choice of a husband than is usually the case amongst the non-Malayan folk. The wooing generally begins in the evenings of a *mapalu* or calling together of neighbours to assist in reaping the rice-harvest. After the day's work is ended all repair to the house of the owner of the rice-field and are feasted; song and dance beguile the hours after the meal, and it is then that the Minahasser finds his opportunity. He steals from the festivities to the couch of his *inamorata*, and the two lovers converse till nearly daybreak, when the man leaves the house and goes forth to his labour. If the lovers decide to wed, then one morning the young man remains with the girl until all in the village are up and about, and it is then understood that the couple are betrothed. According to our ideas it seems curious that in order to become engaged to a girl it is necessary, first to compromise her seriously, and then to noise it abroad; but such is, or was, the custom in Minahassa.

The Importance of the Betel-nut.

When a youth first falls in love with a maiden he sends her a betel-nut prepared for chewing, and if his advances are regarded favourably the girl accepts the token, and sends the love-sick swain a similar offering. The betel-nut, which, as already shown, plays an important part in every ceremony connected with matrimony in Malaya, is frequently mentioned in Minahassan love-songs, *e.g.*, "Place half of the betel-nut you have cut in two in my mouth, and my feelings will be always well towards you." "If a man could fly like

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Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

TWO SUNDANESE LADIES (WEST JAVA), WITH CHILD.

The nurse is standing at the back. The man on the right is a Sundanese, the other two are from Solo, in Central Java.

the wind I would take this betel-nut out of my mouth and send it to my lover." * Before the wedding-day the bridegroom sends to his bride a preliminary present of nine betel-nuts, nine *siri* fruits, and some gold or silver ornaments, as a token of good faith; in ancient times the head of a foe was sent, but the Dutch have stamped out head-hunting for good and all, so that the grisly trophy is omitted now from the list of wedding gifts.

The price paid by the bridegroom formerly to the bride's parents was so much land, so many *saguier*-trees, and so many head of cattle, but nowadays it is paid in hard cash. The wedding ceremony takes place

* S. J. Hickson, "A Naturalist in North Celebes."

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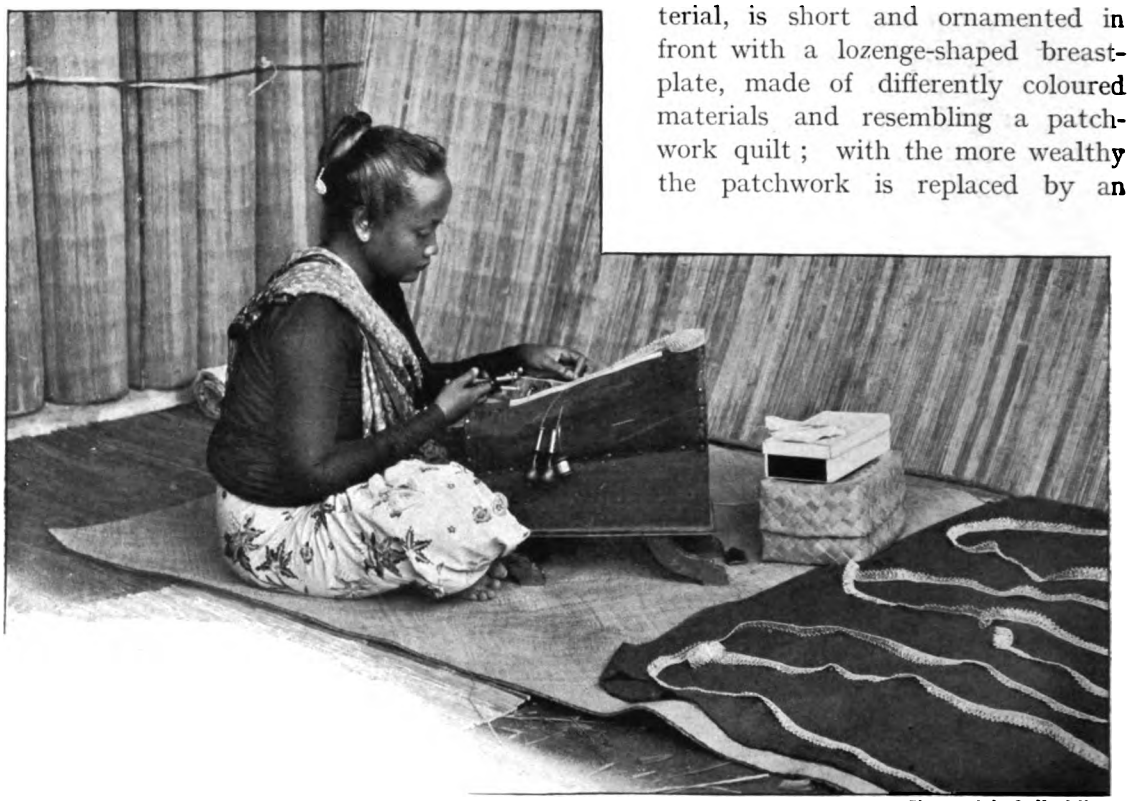
in the house of the bride's parents: food is served to the guests, and the *walian* or officiating priest chews some betel-nut and *siri*, and then hands the quid to the bridegroom, who finally hands it on to the bride for further mastication; the young couple partake of food from the same dish, and the ceremony is at an end. On the following morning there is another wedding feast, after which the *walian* takes the bride and bridegroom to the boundary line of the district, sticks a piece of bamboo in the ground, and says, "Here is a mouse: may your riches be as numerous as the hairs on the mouse."

The Price of a Bride.



Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

JAVANESE LACE MAKER.

The lace pillow and bobbins are very like those used in Europe, and it is probable that the industry was introduced into Java by the Dutch. The lace is made of silver thread.

In Central Celebes there is a considerable variety of tribes, and the dress of the women is sometimes very striking. The Bada women for full dress wear on the head a sort of diadem, shaped like a "pork-pie" hat, and a simple pattern is worked in colours on it; yellow is the colour reserved for those of high rank, and the dye is obtained from the saffron-yellow cuticle of certain orchid-stems. The caps are further ornamented with plumes composed of fowl's feathers, to which are fastened with resin the scarlet breast feathers of a species of *Pitta* or ground-thrush. The jacket, of some dark coloured material, is short and ornamented in front with a lozenge-shaped breast-plate, made of differently coloured materials and resembling a patch-work quilt; with the more wealthy the patchwork is replaced by an ornament of brass filigree. The long petticoat, reaching to the feet, is very wide, and when gathered in at the waist a large flounce of material is left above the cincture, and stands out all round, giving the figure a very bunchy appearance. Ear-plugs of buffalo-horn are worn in the distended orifices of the ear-lobes, and occasionally these ornaments are joined by long strings of beads. Necklaces of beads, fish-bones, seeds and other natural objects are worn, also armlets of white shell. The face is painted on festal occasions with streaks and spots of resin, and appears as if tattooed.

Dress in Central Celebes.

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Weaving in Celebes.

Many of these inland tribes have no knowledge of weaving, and their fabrics are obtained from the bark of a tree The bark is softened for a long time in water, and then beaten with wooden hammers into long strips of comparatively thin texture; the strips are cut to required lengths and stitched together. In Buol, North Celebes, the women are adepts at weaving, and make patterned silk *sarongs* which are much prized in all parts of Celebes; they are in various brilliant colours. In spite of the great dexterity of the weavers, the manufacture of a *sarong* is a painfully slow process even in a country where time is of small account.

The Topebato women wear a broad girdle, or rather corset, of plaited fibre, dyed black and red. One woman will plait this girdle round the waist of another, and it is fitted so closely that it can only be taken off by the method employed by Alexander in solving the difficulty of the Gordian knot.

Curious Ornaments.

These people wear necklaces of various natural objects that they consider decorative, such as the yellow beaks of a species of cuckoo, the metallic green wing-cases of certain beetles, and the heads of long-horned Dynastid beetles, decorated with pieces of tin-foil. The Kulawi women wear broad rings of wood or plaited fibre on the top of the head, and collars of sweet-smelling root-fibres with brightly coloured feathers worked in; they are fond of gaudy colours, and travelling traders find a great demand for cloth striped with the Dutch national colours—red, white and blue. Discolouring, filing, and even removing some of the front teeth is practised by many tribes, for it is considered unsightly to have regular white teeth "like a monkey."

Photograph by O. Kurkdjian.

JAVANESE WEAVER.

The loom is fastened to a frame, and the threads are kept taut by means of a band passing round the weaver's back. The man on the right is winding thread.

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Photograph by T. J. McGregor.

HOUSES OF ABORIGINES NEAR LUBO' KLUBI, ULU LANGAT, SELANGOR.

THE MALAY PENINSULA

By W. W. SKEAT

Environment and Race—Food and Cookery—Dress in Malaya—The National Costume—Malayan Coiffures—Miscellaneous Fashions—Negrito and Sakai Dress—Home-life of Malay Women—The Work of Malay Women—Birth Superstitions and Ceremonies—The Moon and its Influences—Malayan Childhood—How the Malayan Girl "Comes Out"—Malayan Beauty—Malayan Marriage Ceremonies—Bride Hunting—Mohammedan Influence on Malay Women—West Coast Marriage Customs—The Bridal Costume—Bride and Bridegroom's Race for Supremacy—Funeral Ceremonies—Curious Types of Malayan Women

Environment and Race.

TO obtain an idea of the present environment of woman in the Golden Chersonese (the old and more poetic name of the Malay Peninsula) we may think of what Great Britain must have been in very early days when the Roman power extended over the greater portion of the country, more especially that part inhabited by the Anglo-Saxon and Norse immigrants of an earlier period, when the Britons were left still undisturbed in the fastnesses of their hills and fens and forests.

There are in the Malay Peninsula several distinct social strata, consisting of civilised aliens on the one hand, and the semi-civilised and savage inhabitants of the woods and hills on the other. The races of which we are to treat here are, firstly, the civilised Malays, and, secondly, the uncivilised

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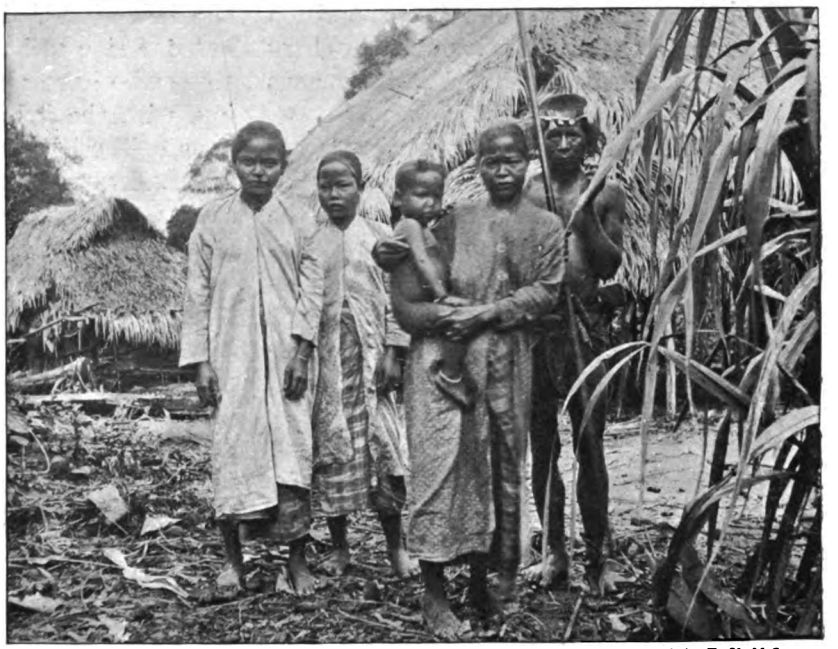
representatives of the three jungle races of the Peninsula—the Negritos or Semang, the Sakai, and the jungle Malayans or Jakun. In the towns the Chinese greatly preponderate in numbers, and there are also, especially on the European estates, a considerable number of Tamils, whilst in the northern portion of the Peninsula the Siamese are dominant.

Among all the problems suggested by the study of man there are few more fascinating than to watch the effect of its surroundings upon the workings of the human mind and its gradual development in accordance therewith. Owing to the prevalence of wild and dangerous beasts, such as the tiger and the elephant, not only do many of the wild men make their huts in trees, and at times even form an entire encampment, or what may be called a "tree-village," but they also obtain from the jungle their only supplies of food, raiment, simples for the sick, and, indeed, the entire material of their life.



Photograph by T. J. McGregor.

GROUP OF ABORIGINES, SELANGOR (F.M.S.).

Women dressed in the "Kābaya" (a kind of loose gown which they have borrowed from the neighbouring Malays), worn over the Malay *sarong*. The man on the right has a blowpipe.

This dense virgin forest is by no means confined to the plains—which, in the more settled parts of the Peninsula, have been to a great extent denuded of trees—but extends up to the very sky-line of the savage and precipitous hills that form the backbone of the Peninsula. In the rock-shelters of these uplands the wild Semang make their lair, and thence descend the thousand rock-strewn torrents which in the wilder parts of the country serve as foot-tracks for the mountain-dwelling Sakai, and which even in their smooth broad lower reaches still form a high-road for the Malays, whose scattered population was, in the old days at least, for the most part riverain. And here and there, in lonely islands off the coast, or where sandy beaches take the place of the widely present mangrove, and where strange creatures of the deep, such as the black coral and the sea-pen (called by the Malays the "sea-demon's boat-pole"), may be seen as one walks across the hot, bright, smoking sands, we may yet meet small groups of the Malayan Sea Gpysies or Orang Laut, in ever-dwindling numbers, engaged in fishing for the small fry or collecting shellfish.

The Jakun are a mixed group composed of the Negritos and the Sakai and a third race (of aboriginal Malayan type) which, with their round heads, lank and somewhat coarse blue-black hair, and reddish- or yellow-brown skin, are of Mongolian descent. The Malayan element is strong enough to ensure the preponderance of old Malayan culture, Malayan customs, and Malayan speech; they are therefore, perhaps, in some ways the most important of the three. Against this aboriginal foundation has broken wave after wave

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of aggressive or peaceful immigrants, of Siamese in the north and of Mohammedan Malays from Sumatra and all the neighbouring islands in the south. In some cases these were agricultural settlers who blended with the aboriginal population, as in the confederation of the small states called Negri Sembilan, north of Malacca. In other cases they were Malay freebooters who, with all the zealot fanaticism of recent converts, carried fire and the kris before them, and in the name of the Prophet committed acts of indescribable ferocity and treachery upon the innocent and helpless indigenous inhabitants.

The aboriginal races of the Peninsula are all pagan, and are thus easily to be distinguished from the Buddhist Siamese of the north and the Malays, who without exception profess (superficially at least) the tenets of Mohammedanism, though the great majority of them are animists and Shamanists at heart.

Food and Cookery.

Though rice is by far the most important, it is by no means (except, perhaps, in the case of the very poorest) the only food of the Malay peasant. He plants in the clearing, or *kampong*, that adjoins his house, a great variety of catch crops, maize, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, yams, tapioca, bananas, and many others, all of which are carefully watched and tended by the women-folk and children. Not infrequently, too, the house is surrounded by a dense grove of coco-nut palms or fruit-trees. A small plot near the house is sometimes occupied by a few betel vines, supported on props that recall a Kentish hop-garden. Scratching about among the roots, or in the open ground near by, are the fowls—a not unimportant adjunct of many Malay households. Goats and the black Malay sheep are also occasionally kept; fish caught by means of weirs, weels, spring-rods, basket-traps, and a variety of other ingenious devices, or stupefied by the poisoning of the stream with *tuba* (a Malay form of poaching discountenanced by the British Government) are brought home from the neighbouring river—few Malays live far from a stream of some kind. Then there are wild fruits from the jungle, each in its season, birds of many kinds, and certain small animals, such as the mouse-deer and the porcupine, which are considered to be allowable as food by Mohammedan law; occasionally perchance even a haunch of venison.

This list will give some faint idea of the varied skill that the Malayan housewife may any day be called upon to exercise in cooking. This, however, represents but one side of her culinary powers, for to those who have seen her in the act of making, with the help of a few iron pots and pans, split sticks, bamboo tubes, moulds, and banana-leaves, a legion of small rice-cakes, sweets, pickles, and preserves of all sorts of materials, shapes, and sizes, described under strange names, some weird and some poetical, she is at least known to be an adept in her calling. Daintily-cooked rice (and rice properly cooked is to its opposite as Paradise is to Purgatory) she prides herself on, and twice a day she prepares it, with its adjuncts of scraps of buffalo-meat (if her lord is a man of substance), or goat, fowl, egg, palm-cabbage, fern or fish, and the tasteful condiments that go to make up the unrivalled glory of a real Malay curry. In the up-country districts many strange forms of food are to be met with, among them being fried toads, cockchafers, and wasp-grubs dipped in honey!

The food of the jungle tribes consists usually of vegetable food, wild roots and palm-shoots, millet, maize, sugar-cane, tapioca, yams, and rice, eked out (when vegetable food fails) with game of every imaginable description that can be shot with the bow or blow-pipe, or caught by some one of their marvellously ingenious traps by land or water. There is, indeed, very little in the jungle, however unpromising material it may appear, that the pagan housewife is unable to make a dish of; in fact, so clever is she at utilising all the resources of the neighbourhood to the utmost, that she can make even poisonous tubers edible by steeping and pressing them till the poison is extracted. (One wonders instinctively how

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such a discovery came to be made.) Even in the case of game killed by the blow-pipe, the tip of which is furnished with the poisonous sap of the far-famed upas tree, all that is done is to cut out the flesh round the wound (which acquires a bluish tinge) and roast it as usual.

The National Costume.

The *sarong*, which is the national Malay dress, is a picturesque cotton or silk skirt, its name implying "wrapper" or "envelope." It is of universal use, and is variously worn as dress either by day or night, for sleeping in, or as a hood or girdle. An old one is often kept for use while bathing. In technical dressmaking parlance, it might be described as a perfectly straight, unshaped skirt of the same "fulness" at top and bottom, and reaching down, as a rule, to the ankles, though in some parts of the Peninsula it is worn much shorter—occasionally, indeed, but little below the knee. It is fastened by holding out the slack part so as to form a broad pleat on one or both sides, folding the pleated part over the front, or over the left hip, and rolling the upper borders of the *sarong* down upon itself; sometimes the ends of the slack parts are twisted or crossed, and occasionally a belt is worn to keep the garment in position.

Except when in full dress the women wear either this or a second *sarong* (or, on the east coast, a sort of broad scarf-like cloth called *kain lĕpas*), crossed and folded over the breasts in front. Out of doors the Malay women frequently wear as a veil either a thin cloth or piece of chintz, or two *sarongs*, one fastened round the waist in the usual manner, and one drawn over the head hoodwise, and distended by means of the stretched arms, so as to leave nothing but a narrow slit in front of the eyes.

The *sarong* is woven from coloured threads in a great variety of patterns, generally striped or with a small check pattern, like the tartan of the Highlander or the now extinct Irish tartan. The *sarongs* of the richer sort are often most beautiful productions of the loom, and are either of a self colour or a rich check, or flowered, or richly embroidered, either in whole or in part, with gold thread in a maze of beautiful patterns, among which the chevron motive and varieties of flowers predominate. It is noteworthy that the patterns worn by respectable women are of a more refined and delicate character (usually a smaller check) than those worn by the men. In Kelantan and Trĕnggānu, the centres of the weaving industry of the Malay Peninsula, where almost every other house owns a loom, the colour-designs are striking and often most artistic.

To the *sarong* the wealthier add an inner garment of white cotton cloth covering the hips, and the *kăbaya*, a long and gracefully flowing outer garment or gown, reaching to the knees, fastened with brooches in front and clasped at the waist with gold or silver clasps of imposing magnitude, which are often very beautifully inlaid or chased.

The wedding-dress of the bride, like that of the Malay *danseuse*, is an apotheosis of the attire of a well-to-do Malay woman with certain additions—*e.g.*, with the addition of a special head-dress of great splendour and a heap of borrowed jewellery.

Malayan Coiffures.

The hair, which is the chief glory of a Malay woman, is straight, luxuriant, glossy, and of a bluish tinge of black, the hue of the raven's wing. It is cleansed with limes, and is drawn up, usually in a simple roll or "knot," tied at the back of the head, and fastened with a gold dagger in the hair or with silver hair-pins. The bright yellow or red blossoms of the *champaka*, in a setting of the Malay woman's night-black tresses, produce a brilliant and striking contrast, the effect of which is heightened by the seductive fragrance of the flower.

Miscellaneous Fashions.

Great hoods of palm-thatch, protecting the head and shoulders from rain or sun, are met with up country, and so, too, are strange palm-leaf umbrellas that open like huge fans. Malays have as a rule bare feet, but wooden sabots are sometimes worn, and shoes have of recent years been coming

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Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

RESPECTABLE MARRIED WOMAN OF KELANTAN.

Wearing the broad sash (*kain lĕpas*) about the breasts and skirt consisting of a flowered *sarong* of Trĕnggānu make.

into fashion. In Patani and Singora, on the east coast, where Siamese influence is now paramount, the quaint but richly-coloured national garment of the Siamese, the *pannung*, is fairly generally worn, and almost any morning the yellow-robed Sami or Siamese priests may be seen going on their rounds to collect the alms of the pious.

Negrito and Sakai Dress.

The Negrito women, when they wear anything at all, put on wonderful fringed girdles cleverly woven from the intertwined black, shiny, root-like strings of a particular kind of fungus. Elsewhere among the Sakai and Jakun the loin-cloth of beaten tree-bark is worn almost universally by the men, and a kind of short bark-cloth apron by the women, except where the Malay *sarong* is found. On festal occasions they all deck themselves out like Jacks-in-the-green, with leaves and flowers and high fantastic head-dresses of woven leaf or bark. Back-combs with magical designs are worn in the hair, and porcupines' quills through the nose and sometimes through the ear-lobes (by the Sakai women), whilst metal-ring armlets, bracelets, and necklaces, consisting of many strings of animals' tails and tufts of fur, teeth, seeds, beads, coins, and small bones form part of the indispensable "rig-out" of a Sakai belle.

Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

RESPECTABLE MARRIED WOMAN OF KELANTAN.

Wearing *kain lĕpas* (a broad sash), draped about the breasts (*kain kĕmban*), over a flowered *sarong*, flowers in hair.

Home Life of Malay Women.

Among the civilised Malay peasantry the proper sphere of woman's influence is still considered to be the home, although in the Europeanised settlements and in some parts of the east coast, in spite of all fanaticism can do, a considerable amount of independence is allowed her; but even in those parts of the Peninsula woman seldom

Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

RESPECTABLE MARRIED WOMAN OF KELANTAN.

Dressed in a "flowered" *sarong* girt about the breasts with a broad sash (*kain lĕpas*, of a Kelantan check pattern.

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plays quite so prominent a *rôle* as in Burma and Siam, where the women generally form the "business" portion of the community, and not infrequently support the men. The Malays being a riverain and coastal race, their habitations take the form of pile-dwellings. The object of this form of structure is, in all probability, to allow the waters of the incoming tide to perform their "priest-like task of pure ablution" in respect of the ground underneath it, which not infrequently serves as a depository of rubbish. On the other hand, the plan of raising the house floor on high posts has distinct advantages over other forms of construction even in the forest, and the Malays do not, as a rule, abandon their pile-dwellings on moving inland.

Among the agricultural Malays, the men perform the tasks that require their strength, and the women take the work for which their slighter and less sturdy build may seem to be adapted. The felling having been completed, they lop the boughs and prepare the fallen trees for the "burn," which takes place when many weeks of vertical sun-blaze have sufficiently dried the piled-up timber. In the plains the rice-

Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

WOMAN OF LOOSE CHARACTER OF KELANTAN AND HER CHILDREN.

The *sarongs*, except that of the big girl, are of local make.

The Work of Malay Women.

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crop (wet "padi") is usually grown on the irrigation system; that is to say, in great square but shallow paddocks, divided by narrow embankments, into which water is led by means of small channels, usually from some neighbouring stream. On the low hills dry padi is grown without embankments, and in either case the Malay woman takes her full share of the day's burden. The men, of course, do the harrowing, rolling, and ploughing of the ground, but the women very frequently do the sowing, planting out of the young padi in the squares between the embankments, the weeding, and the scaring of birds. The plucking (for it can hardly be called cutting) of the padi a few heads at a time, with the primitive Malay reaping-knife (*tuei*), the gathering, gleaning, threshing, winnowing, and husking all come into the work of the women.

When the morning meal is over, the Malay woman returns to her work in the clearing, if her man is an up-country Malay, or otherwise to her weaving, mat- and rice-bag making, plaiting of creels and many-coloured baskets from pandanus leaf, bamboo, or rattan—the Malacca basket is known in England even—or, it may be, to her sail-work, or to the shelter of her palm-thatch stall in the market-booths of Kota-Bharu or Trĕnggānu. On the east coast of the Peninsula she is the maker of the gorgeous produce of the looms of Kelantan and Patani. Indeed, cooking and embroidery (in which we might include weaving) are, as indicated in the marriage ritual, the Malay woman's two greatest acquirements.

Among the wild forest tribes it may be said that, as among the Malays, the men perform the essential minimum of all such work as requires brute force, and the women do the rest. Among the nomadic Semang the men do the hunting, while the women erect their slight palm-leaf shelters (which show a regular course of evolution from the merely flat or beehive-shaped weather-screen sheltering a single family, to the elongated oval shelter intended for a whole tribe), and perform the scanty apology for cooking that suffices the savage appetite of their lords and masters.

Contrary to what one might expect among a race leading the simplest of all possible lives, and one in which the most perfect equality might perhaps be anticipated, the Negrito women are compelled to feed on what the men have left them, and perhaps on occasion to dance for the men's amusement afterwards, the men accompanying them with songs and by beating time with sticks, or upon strange musical instruments such as the nose-flute and other weird bamboo instruments. When the agricultural stage is reached, the women do the lopping of branches, the tilling of the soil with a pointed stick, the sowing, reaping, and storing of the grain in miniature granaries on high posts built by the men. When the grain is once sown, the plantation takes care of itself. The women, having collected water in their long bamboo receptacles or gourds, fasten on the back-basket and enter the jungle to collect roots and fruits for the early meal. When the food has been eaten, they spend their time in light work in or near the house, either in the collecting of jungle produce, in angling, in plaiting of leaf-work bags, mats or baskets, or in nursing their children. One or more slight snacks, usually of some vegetable food, are provided in the course of the day should the men be at home, and in any case there is a late supper, which frequently takes place at midnight among the Sakai. For the rest they make the most beautiful leaf-work pouches, and are adepts at the plaiting of bags, mats, and baskets. In districts where tin occurs women may not unfrequently be seen turning an honest penny by washing out stream tin in primitive fashion by means of wooden pans and sluices. In the collecting of jungle produce the pagan women bear a large share, their men being mercilessly cheated by the Malays when they come to the actual bartering.

If we take a few of the customs accompanying those events which are of most importance in the lives of their women, we shall see that the broad line of distinction between the Malays and the indigenous races (their former victims) comes out with

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remarkable clearness. Among the pagan races, for instance, the ceremony that attends a birth is of the scantiest description, the attendant offices being performed in many cases by the husband himself, and exciting few apprehensions. From birth to the grave, but most especially at birth, the Malay woman, on the other hand, is believed to be in danger from the supernatural world, and to some extent to be a source of danger to others, from both of which catastrophes she is defended by a rampart of ceremonial. The blood-sucking vampire-spirits that harass the mother and her new-born babe may be numbered among the most frightful conceptions that ever plagued the conscience of mankind. If apparitions of the dead in our more matter-of-fact northern climes can be thought to unfold tales "whose lightest word would harrow up" our soul, what must be their effect upon an unsophisticated peasantry, in the midnight of a tropical jungle? We can hardly wonder if the weird and bodeful shriek of night-birds upon the roof should suggest to their terrified imaginations the passing of the *Langsuir*, the flying demon of the Malays; the *Pontianak*, the blood-sucking bird which is able to change its shape at will to that of other animals, and which, as an old writer states, is "more dreaded than the tyger"; or, ghastliest of all, the nocturnal onslaught of the *Pènang-galan*, the flying trunkless head, with its trailing blood-boltered sac, all of which are believed to sup by night on new-born infants' blood.

Birth Superstitions and Ceremonies.

Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

RESPECTABLE MARRIED WOMAN OF KELANTAN.

Wearing a *sarong* of Kelantan pattern, surmounted by the typical broad sash (*kain lĕpas*), girt about the breasts.

As if these ghastly accompaniments of child-birth, not to mention others, were not enough to try the nerve of any Malay woman who had hopes of offspring, it is usual, in addition, for the patient to be placed upon a raised platform of wood or bamboo, called the roasting-place (*salei-an*), underneath which a fire is lighted, and thus "roasted" in a way that must not infrequently involve acute suffering. Upon this platform she is made to lie day and night, throughout the entire period of her confinement; indeed, the very wood required for the fire of this roasting-place often takes several weeks' work to get together. This remarkable institution was the invention of the *To'Bidan*, or professional wise-woman, and its result has been known in some cases to produce mental aberration lasting for some months afterwards, and must, in cases of any difficulty, have been frequently fatal.

Even apart from this, both the person of the patient and that of her husband were encompassed by an extraordinary body of petty restrictions and prohibitions, which it must certainly be exceedingly trying to have to observe under the severe conditions just described. Not only is she absolutely prohibited from reposing upon her own sleeping-mat throughout the day, but a large number of articles of common consumption are laid under ban, and even in her speech the victim could scarcely ever be sufficiently circumspect, for the uttering of a single word of reproach against any living creature—an exceedingly difficult thing for anyone so sorely tried to avoid—was bound to be followed (she would be told) by frightful and portentous consequences. Even her husband may not cut his hair or sit in his doorway (the latter a favourite

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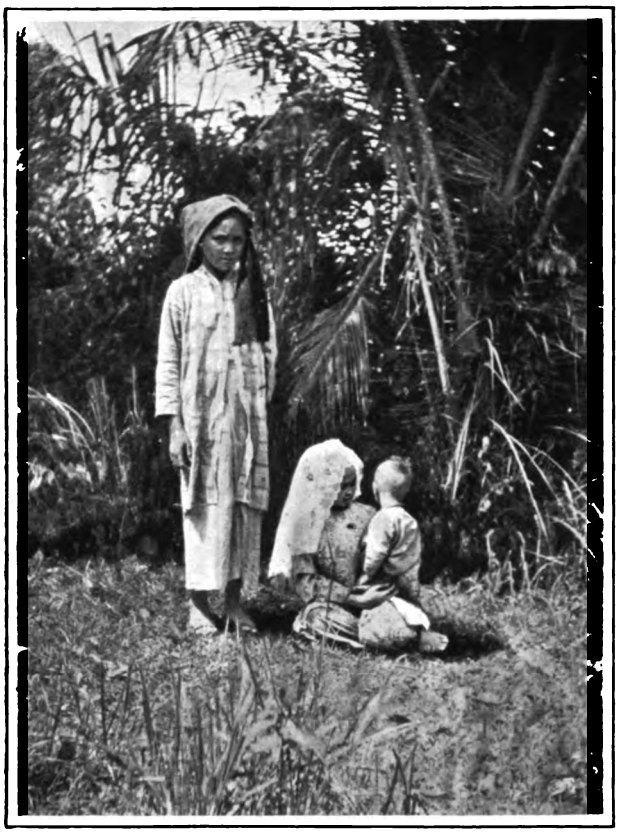

WOMAN AND CHILDREN OF PERAK.

observation-post among the Malays), or "divide the house" by passing straight in at one door and out at the other, or "make a single night of it" either in being a guest or entertaining one; or, finally, wound or kill any living thing during the whole of this period.

During an eclipse of the moon, should one happen at this juncture, some very strange precautions are taken which emphasise clearly the Malay belief in the influence of the moon over women. Should the child escape the actual as well as the imaginary perils that attend its birth, it is bathed, swaddled, and formally adopted by its father according to the rites of the Mohammedan law. In some parts of the country it is also passed through the smoke to protect it from evil spirits and convulsions, and in others its forehead is marked, in the case of a boy with a benchmark, and in the case of a girl with the sign of the cross. This last ceremony is by no means a compliment to Christianity. It is done in order that the Evil One may take it for a child of his own (his children being supposed to be similarly marked) and may on that account pass over it without doing it harm!

Malayan Childhood.

The Malay cradle takes the form of a sort of swinging cot or hammock of black cloth, usually a *sarong*, which is passed round one of the rafters of the hut-roof. Among the country-folk this hammock-cradle is often carefully protected, especially at first, by an arrangement of what can only be called "demon-traps," and whenever the child is taken out of it, a massive stone spice-block is laid in the cot, as the child's "substitute" (*ganti*), in order to deceive the spirits of evil. Soon after the little Malay girl begins to run about, and ceases to journey tied on to her mother's back or astride upon her hip, she has a heart-shaped ornament of silver (*chaping*) tied round her waist; but for the rest still continues to disport herself without any further garment but that of the unfettered grace and winsomeness of her little lithe brown body. At the age of a few months her ears are bored, preparatory to receiving the often beautifully decorated ear-studs (*subang*), which are the emblems of Malay maidenhood, and which are only discarded at marriage. At about five years old she will be induced to wear a tiny *sarong*, and at a slightly later age, when the at present experimental stage of female education has become permanent, she will be going to school in covered bullock-carts to learn cooking, embroidery, and the Koran.

How the Malayan Girl "Comes Out."

At a varying age, sometimes at her entrance upon womanhood, or, in some cases, just before marriage, she has to undergo some remarkable ceremonies, her teeth being sometimes filed, and the ends of the seven longest strands of her raven-black hair shorn off and dropped, together

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with rings of precious metal attached to them for the purpose, into the open bowl of a specially-prepared green coco-nut. No face-paint, scarification, or tattooing is practised by the Malay women, though all these forms of face-decoration were at one time practised by the pagans. Among the Sakai the face is either actually tattooed, the puncturation being performed by means of a thorn, or scarified in lines that converge on either cheek. Black and white, or coloured dots placed alternately, sometimes replace these lines, the design being completed by a pitchfork-like pattern being placed upon the chin, the result being to give the wearer a very smart and "fierce" appearance. Porcupines' quills, or short decorated sticks are worn through holes in the lobe of each ear and in the septum of the nose.

Malayan Beauty.

The Malay girl is not infrequently very pretty and winning, but she early loses her gracefulness, and frequently becomes, when middle-aged, plain, and even ugly, in spite of all the incantations with which she attempts to preserve her looks. If judged by a European standard she would not, perhaps, ever be considered really beautiful, though she is by no means destitute of good looks. Her often regular features are sometimes spoilt by the flatness of the nose and an excessive width of nostril, or by the distension of the mouth due to the over-frequent chewing of betel. Her eyes are usually of a deep rich brown or black, but have not, as a rule, much expression; her brown skin is often of great clearness and beauty; her teeth are often white to brilliancy and very perfect, but among the older women especially they are often encrusted with betel or ruined by "filing"; her head is round; her eyebrows are arched and distinct; her cheek-bones are prominent, after the manner found among all branches of the Mongolian race. Her greatest glory is her black and generally long hair, which is drawn up in a knot at the back. Short and sturdily built, rather than *svelte*, she is inclined to over-stoutness, and her build produces in middle age a tendency to become somewhat unpleasantly coarse and fat. Her feet and hands are small, but the latter are inclined to be somewhat too stumpy and flat underneath. Her joints are, as compared with those of Europeans, marvellously small and supple. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Malay standard of a woman's comeliness is not ours; and it is at least interesting to see how well the Malay description of a beautiful woman emphasises the chief "points" of a typical specimen of the race.

Her brow, as we read in many Malay poems and romances, should be like the one-day-old moon, her eyebrows arched like the curved spur of the fighting-cock or like waved handwriting—anyone who is acquainted with the long and delicate curves of the Arabic caligraphy as employed by the Malays will appreciate the vividness of this comparison. Her cheek should resemble the soft, smooth side of the mango-

Photograph by H. W. Thomson.

MARRIED MALAY WOMAN OF TRĔNGGĀNU.

Dressed in a short jacket (*baiu*) of Kelantan make, with two *sarongs* in place of skirts, one worn above the other.

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fruit; her nose should be like an "opening jasmine-bud," or a freshly-sharpened reed-pen (the converse of the Shakespearian reading of "his nose was as sharp as a pen," which latter was hardly intended, perhaps, as a compliment). Her ear should be like a fading lotus or water-lily; her luxuriant raven-black hair like the "crisped" blossom-shoots of the areca-palm. Her neck should have a triple row of dimples; her breasts should be full and ripening, and her waist lissome as the stem of a flower. Her heel should be of a perfect oval, "like the egg of a bird"; her fingers should resemble the lance-like leaves of the lemon-grass, or taper at both ends like the quills of the porcupine. Her eyes should be as the splendour of the planet Venus, and her lips like the crimson fissure of a bursting pomegranate.

Malayan Marriage Ceremonies.

Before betrothal, some representatives of the youth's party have among the Malays the right to visit the girl in order to assure themselves that she is "without blemish and without spot." The preliminaries being over, a further messenger is sent to the girl's parents, who responds with the prescribed formulas to the polite depreciation of the girl by her parents, whose remark, "You desire to bespeak the hand of my daughter, who knows not how to cook nor how to sew," is waived aside, and the formal betrothal takes place before witnesses. After betrothal, presents are exchanged, the youth sending to his *fiancée* small offerings of betel-leaf folded up in richly-worked cloths like doyleys, or choice fruit or eggs contained in ingenious network receptacles; and the girl replying with special preparations of rice contained in beautifully-plaited receptacles of coloured leaf-work, shaped like peacocks or hornbills, which often assume highly decorative and artistic forms.

Marriage is undoubtedly the most important of all the ceremonies in the life of the Peninsula women, and it is interesting to trace the gradual development of the rite as we pass from the pagan races to the Mohammedan Malays.

In its simplest form, it appears to consist of a mere mutual acknowledgment of the parties before witnesses, usually the elders of the settlement. Commonly some form of the custom of eating together forms a second feature of the rite, a third being what is often a mere survival, representing what had originally been a definite act of purchase. The Semang, and indeed the great majority of the jungle tribes, are in the highest degree faithful to each other when once married, and are, as a rule, fairly strict monogamists.

Bride Hunting.

Among the Bĕsisi a remarkable form of Mound Marriage occurred, the mound being moulded from clay thrown up for the purpose into the shape of a gigantic bell, round which the bridegroom had to chase the bride until he caught her. Among the Orang Laut or Sea Gypsies this hunting of the bride sometimes took the form of a canoe-race in which the bride was given a limited start.

Before the mound-ceremony was concluded, the bridegroom might have to submit to a curious catechism on the part of the bride's representative, who asked such searching and personal questions as "Are you clever with the blow-pipe?" "Are you clever at felling trees?" "Are you clever at climbing?" and "Can you smoke cigarettes?" The marriage settlements consisted of pots and pans, jungle-knives, hatchets, beads, and blow-pipes, the woman giving, as a rule, nothing in return. The marriage catechism concluded with the question, "Is all this true, so may a tree fall upon you?" the reply being, "Speak not of *Somebody's* daughter. Monkeys of all kinds do I search for and capture. And how much more then *Somebody's* daughter?" This reply being considered satisfactory (!), the chiefs of the tribe exclaimed that the marriage was "ratified," and the chase "round the mound and round again" commenced. A feast followed, at which the bride and bridegroom ate and drank from the same dish.

Among the Malayan tribes there was a regular season for marriage, namely, during

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the months of July and August, when fruit is plentiful. The price of a wife among some branches of the Orang Laut or Sea Gypsies was stated to be ten needles, three hanks of thread, sixteen cubits of cloth, and three Spanish dollars.

Passing to the Malays, two entirely distinct marriage systems prevail. In the southernmost division of the Federated Malay States, on the western seaboard (N. Sembilan), where matrilineal descent prevails, the family properly so-called is "Samandei," and really consists of the mother and her children. The mother's eldest brother is the head of the family, and the father belongs to his own mother's family, not to that of his wife and children. This peculiar organisation prevails in what is claimed to be the original home of the Malay race, the district of "Menangkabau" in Sumatra. Elsewhere the ordinary line of patrilineal descent prevailed, according to what may be called "Johor custom." It is possible that marriage among people of the Malay race was originally unceremonial, the ritual being a later development.

Mohammedan Influence on Malay Women.

Again, as concerns the women, marriage is so very general that an old unmarried woman is regarded as an eccentric. The re-marriage of a widow, on the other hand, is commonly a subject for jest, the ear-studs, already mentioned as the emblems of virginity among the Malays, being *tied* on to her ears in mockery of her status. The influence of Mohammedanism reappears in the jealousy with which the husband regards his wife, an idea which finds expression in Malay proverbs. Connected with this feeling of jealousy may be the punishment meted out to couples who have lapsed from virtue, who in days gone by were paraded together in a cart with their faces striped yellow, the striping being intended to represent that of the civet-cat.

The Malay woman, in spite of the seclusion enjoined by Mohammedan precepts, is yet not quite so jealously secluded as might be supposed, though whether this is not rather due to her capacity for getting her own way than to any special lack of jealousy on the part of her husband, may be doubted. At least the Malay proverb has it that whereas "a herd of buffaloes may be guarded, a single human being [a woman] cannot be so guarded," which looks as if they had had experience which had taught them to know *furens quid femina possit*. Moreover, another proverb attests the fact that henpecked husbands are not unknown, the expression being that the man is "steered from the bows." It should be remembered that it is in his mother-in-law's house that the Malay bridegroom first takes up his abode, often for a period of a year or more, and, judging from Malay proverbs touching on the subject, the Malay mother-in-law is not less of a butt than she generally is in Europe.

West Coast Marriage Customs.

The typical west-coast wedding, which differs in many respects from that of Kelantan and Patani, lasts several days, and takes place in the bride's house, decorated with broad vertically-striped rainbow hangings and ornamental ceiling-cloths. Two immense triple-branched candlesticks at the bride's door, and a magnificently decorated couch or divan, are erected, at one end of which is a double row of pillows, some of immense size (5 ft. by 2 ft. by 2½ ft.), white, and with richly-embroidered ends, and some smaller ones, red, purple, or orange in colour. The number of these "big pillows" signifies the rank of the parties, and daggers were freely drawn in olden days when the regulation number was exceeded.

Nowadays the evening concludes with the chanting of passages from the Koran, but in the more picturesque and unregenerate past the time was spent in watching a cock-fight, a wrestling or fencing match, or in listening to some old-world story of the fairy-tale kind, chanted by one of those interesting survivals of the ancient *régime*, the "soothers of care," which is the name given to the Malay professional story-tellers.

While these games were in progress the

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Photograph lent by J. Brockerel, Italy.

SAKAI AT DINNER.
Note the bamboo utensils.

bride and bridegroom at first separately at their own house, but later jointly, underwent the process of having their hands stained with henna. On the last day of the wedding takes place the procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents, where the ceremony of feeding them both together with the "presentation rice" is performed.

The bride, who has no veil, and is often a blaze of gems, not infrequently borrowed,

The Bridal Costume.

has her hair done in a roll, surmounted with a headdress of glittering artificial flowers, raised on fine wires, and trembling all over with the slightest motion of the head, whence its strange name of "Quake and tremble" is derived. Her forehead, the hair of which is trimmed evenly in an oval, is bound with a fillet or band, wrought maybe into the semblance of two fighting dragons with delicate butterfly pendant. This band is made of gold-leaf among the wealthier class, and of tinsel among the poorer Malays; in either case it looks brave enough by torchlight. Her dress consists of a jacket with tight-fitting sleeves, sometimes gathered and extending down to the wrist, the material of the jacket being "flowered satin" among the rich: and madder-coloured cloth among the humbler classes. This wedding jacket fits tightly round the neck, has a gold border, is fastened with gold buttons, and, being close-fitting, sets off the figure of the wearer to the utmost advantage. Round her neck is hung a necklace or pair of crescent-shaped breast ornaments. The *sarong*, which takes the place of a skirt, is of as fine a silk and of as rich a pattern as may be obtainable. It should be girt with a waist-cord according to the older and stricter custom. A pair of silk trousers *à la turque* completes her attire.

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FAMILY SCENE AMONG THE SAKAI

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Bride and Bridegroom's Race for Supremacy.

The bridegroom, no less gaily dressed, and armed with a *kris* specially selected for its magical virtue, is then escorted in procession to the house of the bride, and after the performance of the actual marriage ceremony by the priest, is led to the inner chamber, and seated on the divan, to the left of the bride, who sits with her feet tucked beneath her. The bride and bridegroom having each received a handful of what is called the "Presentation Rice," proceed to feed each other with it simultaneously, this part of the programme being a signal for a race, from which omens are drawn as to the future relationship of the pair when married. The bridegroom is then carried off to an outer chamber to pay his respects to his friends, the sweetmeats are handed around, and the wedding favours (*tĕlor joran*) distributed among the guests, each of whom is expected to bring a suitable gift. On the fourth day takes place the bathing ceremony, at which, the bride and bridegroom being seated on a bench, the entire company of young men present proceed to discharge what are called in Malay "waterbows" (really primitive bamboo syringes) until all are thoroughly wetted. The bride and bridegroom then take hold of a V-shaped slip-knot of young coco-nut leaves, and each pulls one end till it comes undone, this being called the "Freeing" or "Letting-go" ceremony (*lĕpas-lĕpas*). A girdle of thread is then passed seven times over the heads and under the feet of the couple (*lat-lat*), when the bridegroom snaps the thread, and all are free to return homewards. Seven days later the ceremony of discarding the ear-studs (*subang*, the emblems of virginity) is performed by the bride.

Photograph lent by J. Brockerel, Italy.
YOUNG SAKAI GIRL.

Outside the ordinary marriage rite, as described above, there is an exceedingly strange set of regulations governing cases of forcible seizure of the bride's person. This upon certain conditions is not discountenanced, the usual dower or marriage-portion furnished by the bridegroom, who acts at his own personal risk, being in such cases doubled. This strange institution appears to serve the purpose of a sort of safety-valve of the kind formerly supplied in our own country by Gretna Green.

Funeral Ceremonies.

Burial takes place, owing to the torrid heat of the climate, within twenty-four hours of dissolution. The Negritos practise a form of ordinary interment, but the genuine Sakai have so intense a terror of the ghost of the deceased that they will burn down the house, and even sometimes the village, in which a death has taken place, and never return to it, even their standing crops being deserted and left to rot upon the ground.

Platform burials and the depositing of the corpse in a tree are also practised, and

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in a case of ordinary interment there are buried with a woman (or laid upon the grave) her combs, necklaces, bracelets, and other articles of attire, together with various kinds of fruit and flowers.

Among the Jakun the spirit of a deceased woman whose burial was witnessed by the writer was provided with the model of a hut (like a doll's house, but raised upon sticks to resemble piles), and with provisions to feed upon. In almost all instances food is provided for the soul—even rice, yams, and bananas being planted, and in some places a bamboo tube is fixed in the grave so as to communicate with the mouth of the corpse for the purpose of feeding it.

Photograph lent by J. Brockerel, Italy.

SAKAI PREPARING POISONED DARTS.

As among the Malays, the grave of a Jakun man can be distinguished at a glance from that of a woman by the shape of the grave-posts. In the case of a man these are round and notched, but in that of a woman they are flat, and sometimes roughly shaped, so as to give the outline of a woman's figure.

Among the Siamese in the north cremation obtains, as in Siam proper, a wooden effigy being sometimes burnt as substitute, should the deceased have died overseas; but among the small settlements of the Phram or Brahmans met with in Ligor and Patalung on the eastern coast, burial took place in a sitting posture. In the same neighbourhood were still to be seen a few examples of the exposure of the corpse in a cigar-shaped wrapper, slung between two trees about 8 ft. from the ground, as well as examples of exposure of the dead in large chests raised upon posts, of a kind recalling similar instances of exposure of the dead in chests in Borneo.

When a Malay woman dies, just below her crossed hands are deposited a pair of betel-nut scissors intended to keep evil spirits at a distance (iron being universally regarded as a great safeguard against evil spirits). The nearest relatives, when giving the last kiss, must not "disturb the corpse" by letting their tears fall upon its features. The shroud is bound round in five places by means of the selvage of the shroud itself torn into tape-like strips. The bier is frequently, in the case of chiefs, of immense size, and I myself saw one at the funeral of a great chief's wife that took not many fewer than a hundred Malays to carry it; the spectacle of these serried files of half-nude Malays, impressed for the occasion, and struggling desperately with their load, forcibly recalling certain pictures of the days of the pyramid-builders. The body, when laid on the bier, usually in one of the Malay box-like substitutes for coffins, is covered with a pall of as good coloured cloth as may be obtainable. Across this are frequently thrown the blossoms of the betel-palm and the scented pandanus woven into exquisitely beautiful and fragrant floral strips, called by the strange name of "centipedes' feet," and varying with the rank of the deceased, and which correspond to our own floral crowns and crosses. On the

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seventh, the fourteenth, the fortieth, and the hundredth days feasts are held in memory of the dead, and the anniversary is also kept as a holiday.

Curious Malayan Women.

These are some of the employments of the Malay women, but what of the women themselves, and what of the life that they lead? The character of the Malay woman naturally lacks some of the boldness of her men-folk, the women resorting to poison where a man would employ the *kris*. On the other hand, it was formerly the custom of Selangor women to wear small poniards (of the kind called *tumbok lada*) concealed in their hair, though happily under the strong arm of British law these and other similar traces of the originally savage Malay nature have gradually disappeared, and the chief point now to be emphasised is the difference between the lazy, pleasure-loving, gaily-dressed, and only too often profligate and rapacious Malay women, who are to be found in all the large towns and at the courts of most of the Malay rajas (and whose character is hit off in Malay four-line stanzas, of the kind called *pantun*), and the somewhat shy but sober-minded, cheery, hard-working, and invariably hospitable Malay women of the far interior.

Self-revelations on the part of the fast-vanishing past grow rarer with every falling tide, and rarest of all, perhaps, are sights like that of the Homeric hamlet, whose women employed everyday pots and pans that had been hammered into shape from the metal as it cropped out of the ground in blocks. Or the lady with a familiar spirit (of the bottle-imp variety, fed daily with drops of blood pricked from her finger-tips), who, after being photographed, dreamt that a great white magician from oversea had stolen her soul, and whom nothing could propitiate but a present of gold-dust. Or the woman of the strange wild-looking troglodyte race (guardians of the Bird's-nest islands in the inland sea of Singora) whom we found living in limestone caves of the islands where bats flew and the "edible" swallows built. Or the peasant woman who came to feed at the breast a pair of tiger-cats (picked out of their nest in a hollow tree as we passed thereby in the morning) on the ground that she had once before performed the same kind office "for a bear-cub." Or the Malay wise-woman, who, at a great medicine-business in Patani, whirled her head round in the fury of the dance until indeed, as she boasted, she "made a cart-wheel of her hair." Or the woman of the West coast, who, singing weird chants the while, made the sheaf of areca-blossom or the "wasp-waisted" fish-trap dance in our presence as if possessed. Or she for whose sake Che Dris ran *amok*, slaying man, woman, and child in indiscriminating fury, until struck down. Or the East coast woman who, startled by the glimpse of a large snake that we were carrying, fell incontinently into weird imitation of the reptile's writhing, a victim to the strange hysterical affection of the nerves known to the Malays as *latah*, which compels those who suffer from it, while fully conscious of the absurdity of their acts, to imitate the actions or the movements of the object that caused their fright.

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TYPES OF VISAYAN GIRLS.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

By N. W. THOMAS

Origin of the Race—Negrito Aids to Beauty—Marriage Customs of the Aetas—Head-hunters—Women's Work—Igorot Music and Dancers—Ilongot Ghastly Bridal Presents—The Magindanao—Mandaya Women the Beauties of the Island—The Cuyonos—Curious Beauty Aids—Secret Marriages Customary—Plurality of Husbands and Wives—Strange Ornaments and Customs

THE inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are a very mixed lot. It is probably safe to say that the oldest element in the population is the Negrito, known under the name of Aeta (*i.e.*, black), and found in the interior of Luzon, in North Mindanao and elsewhere. Superposed on this is an older Malay stratum, and on this, again, a younger Malay stratum which shows strong traces of Hindu influence. The Spanish intermarried with the aborigines and brought Chinese with them, and there was a small early Japanese settlement on Luzon. Nearly 7,000,000, or 99 per cent., of the population are reckoned to the Malays in the American census, but this includes half-bloods, whose type is however indistinguishable from the pure bloods. Space fails even to enumerate the tribes of note; suffice it to mention the Igorots, the Ilongots, and the Tagalos of Luzon, the Visaya, the Bagobo, and the Mandayas of

Origin of the Race.

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Mindanao. There is a Mohammedan population known as Moros, with some Arabic blood in it, in Mindanao and elsewhere.

Negrito Aids to Beauty.

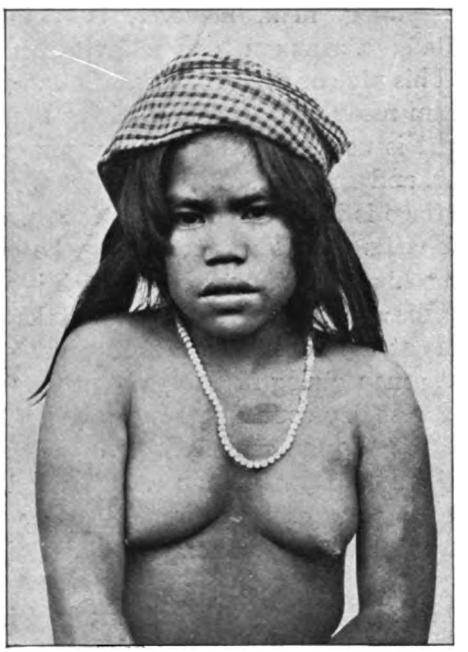
It is natural that in such a mixed population there should be a great diversity of appearance, culture, and manners. To take the wild and shy Negrito first; the women, on an average, are about four feet high, with a variation of some six inches; they are chocolate brown rather than black, with broad flat noses, dark brown eyes, and kinky hair, sometimes burned by the sun to a reddish brown. They beautify their persons by filing their teeth, and explain that it enables them to eat corn with greater ease; they also decorate the breast, shoulders, and back with scars. Necklaces of seeds are worn, and in the hair bamboo combs; the only clothing is a strip of cloth round the waist.

Marriage Customs of the Aetas.

We know little about these Aetas, but their marriage ceremonies have been described, and it appears that a wife is so invaluable that the whole wealth of the young man and his family is expended on the purchase of one. Of course a dance and a feast are essential parts of the proceedings, but of actual marriage rite there is hardly a trace beyond the custom of exchanging food. The girls are often betrothed while very young to men old enough to be their fathers, and many tears are shed when the time for marriage is at hand. A resolute girl may resist for years, and in such cases it does not appear to be the custom to return the bride price. In one such case a Yankee intervened in favour of the bridegroom, and, by a gift of a few yards of cloth, a mirror, and a string of beads, quite reconciled the maiden to her fate. For was she not the best dowried wife in the village?

In South Luzon the ceremony is quainter, for it consists in man and maid sitting on a platform and having their heads bumped together; after this follows the "home coming," at one period of which the bride puts on all her dresses. But before this stage is reached there is a critical point for the future husband; for there is a spot where the bride stops to see how many presents are coming to her. If they are not enough, she promptly returns to her mother.

The Igorot (mountain people) are mountain agriculturists, and were until recently



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YOUNG IGOROT WOMAN OF AMBUKLAO, BENGUET.

Igorot Marriage Customs.

head-hunters. They are spread over a wide area, and the groups differ considerably. The women average four feet nine in height; they wear their hair long and load their ears with heavy copper earrings. In youth they are supple and well formed, but by the age of thirty they are already old women, flabby, wrinkled, and unsightly. As little girls they have few pleasures; dolls are unknown, and even puppies have no attraction for them; but they take charge of younger scions of the family at a preternaturally early age, and find full scope for their maternal instincts in minding the baby. Girls and boys never play together; the great game of the former is "catch your ankle," a kind of prisoner's base played

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nightly on the grass. The players line up in a state of nature, crouch on the heels, and jump towards their opponents, trying to catch one by the ankle and carry her off. A great feature of Igorot society is the *olag*, or spinsters' house, which though primarily the sleeping place of the unmarried girls, is in fact the mating place of young people of marrying age. Marriage takes place before the birth of a child, but not earlier, as a rule. The young man, however, is pointedly invited; a common form of invitation is to steal his pipe or even his breechcloth, and he seldom recovers it without visiting the *olag*. A girl is usually faithful to her temporary lover, and unchastity before puberty or after marriage is hardly known. In fact, when a man visits a maiden at the *olag*, he enters into a kind of trial marriage, which is so far recognised that the young couple take their meals at the house of the girl's parents, the young man giving his labours to the family. On a rest day courting goes on all day long, and the happy couples spend their time gossiping, each with an arm round the other: it is asserted that all enter into this trial marriage, cripples and idiots excepted.

It may be imagined that marriage is the ordinary state of the Igorot adult, and as he makes sure that he will be blessed with offspring before going through the ceremony, the man seldom divorces his wife; when he does so he leaves her the house, and builds a new one for himself. When one of the parties dies, it is the custom for the other to remain single for a year.

Women's Work.

A girl begins to work at the age of five. Women weave and spin, make pots and sell them, and produce the salt; the men are the basket-makers. Both sexes work at the plantations, but only women plant the rice and transplant the palay (seedlings); in digging the women use a six foot stick some two inches in diameter. The soil is moistened by irrigation, and crumbles into the water as the line of toilers push the tools before them, and as it falls away the women begin to sing. When a small square is ready, the women level the soil, trample it to discover the stones, and then in line abreast slowly tread backwards and forwards making the bed soft and smooth beneath the water.

The work of threshing and winnowing falls to the women and girls, but cooking is often allotted to the man unless there is a boy or girl not employed in the fields, and big enough for the work. When the man undertakes the task he is up by 4 a.m., and between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. the girls are home from the *olag*, and the family sits down to breakfast. At 7 a.m. the workers leave for the fields, and remain away till 6.30 p.m., or later; then comes supper, and by 8 p.m. husband and wife turn in, and the young folks set out in quest of adventures.

The Igorot woman is strong, she carries as big a burden as a man, usually on her head, and as a protection wears a ring of grass. At sundown she may often be seen returning from the river, a child on her back, and a six-gallon jar of water on her head, but strong and joyful, though she has toiled all day in the field with bent back and eyes fixed on the earth.

Igorot Music and Dancers.

It is strange that the music of the Igorot is usually serious; mothers do not sing to their babes, nor a lover to his mistress. But they make up for their music by their dances, which they accompany upon the metal gong. A woman's toes often scarcely leave the earth, but a few of the older women have a high pawing movement which throws the dust and gravel behind them; the women dance immediately outside the circle of male dancers, and from them the infection spreads to the onlookers till a score of women are imitating them, and the little girls are imitating their mothers. Some of the women's dances show us the beginnings of the drama; with her two-foot long "camote" stick, her pestle or her spun thread, she simply reproduces her ordinary occupations, but it is the seed of dramatic art.

Like the Igorots, the Ilongots are an agricultural people. They are not a

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tall race; the skin is dark brown with a dash of yellow, and the pupil of the eye is said to be veiled with a curious bluish tint, which suggests incipient cataract. Both men and women file their teeth, and, like many other peoples of the Philippines, blacken them till the mouth resembles a miniature coal pit. They are perhaps more savage than the Igorots, and a bridegroom's present to his bride includes a human head, part of a breast or heart, as well as a finger or two, and without these no one can hope to wed. There is so little secrecy about the matter that the head of the victim—man, woman, or child—is put on a pole before the youth's house for all to see, and then after nine days interred under the house which the couple are to occupy.

Ilongot Ghastly Bridal Presents.

As a type of the civilised and Christianised dwellers in Luzon may be taken the Gaddons, whose features are refined and far from suggestive of former savagery.

The Magindanao, whom the Spaniards called Moros (*i.e.*, Moors) from their dark colour, are said to be by far the most faithful and intelligent people in the Archipelago. They are dark with a yellowish tinge like many of the other tribes, and the women have well-formed hands and feet. Out of doors they wear trousers like the men, very loose, but the jacket is cut so tightly as to show every line of the figure. Sometimes they use the *sarong* to screen their faces from strangers, but indoors both sexes remove much of their clothing. Mohammedan marriage is much the same everywhere; the middleman makes a pilgrimage to the bride's house with gifts, and according as they are accepted or rejected the suit goes on or comes to an untimely end.

The Magindanao.

The jealous Mohammedan wife disposes of her husband by means of poison which is said to be compounded of human hair, poisonous roots, and woman's blood, and the first constituent, which is cut fine, is said to work up after death, and show itself on the lips.

Some of the Mohammedan tribes cause much trouble by stealing Mandaya women, who are particularly white-skinned, and therefore specially attractive; they have besides dark expressive eyes, and wear a profusion of ornaments, which are among the most beautiful things they make. Where the short red coat with blue sleeves, which is the woman's dress, leaves a piece of the neck bare they hang a large silver disc with geometrical designs on it; their arms, from the wrist to the elbow, are covered with numerous metal and shell bracelets, and from a kind of sea vine heated over the fire they make armlets which have a sort of metallic sheen. On the left side they wear a bundle of bells, and in the ears huge wooden earrings inlaid with tinfoil and beads; on their chain belts are numerous charms—alligator teeth, shells, herbs, etc. —and these no other woman may touch, for

Mandaya Women the Beauties of the Islands.

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BUKIDNON WOMAN IN CHARACTERISTIC DRESS, PROVINCE OF MESAMIO.

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DATO CHIEF AND HIS BRIDE.

that would bring bad luck. Their dress consists of a short skirt which falls as far as the knee, and a huge silver-mounted wooden comb adorns their hair. They twist their hair into a knot, and leave a long lock projecting behind, and one on each side of the face. Their skin is light brown in colour, and it is curious to find this associated with very prominent lips, which, according to one observer, project as far as the tip of the nose (which is, it must be remembered, very much flattened).

The Cuyonos.

In connection with the Moros it may be well to mention the Christian Cuyonos, the only islanders who can really be called workers. They are excellent navigators, and leave their women at home, so much so that the latter outnumber the male sex by seven or eight to one. In their love-making, however, they are not energetic; the swain leans against a bamboo pillar, and gazes with dreamy eyes at his sallow *inamorata*, who never opens her lips. The Cuyonos have a curious dance, taken over perhaps from a wilder folk. The *Suring* is graceful, and dignified; the point of the dance is that the girl must whirl rapidly round and keep her partner from dancing in front of her while he must use all his wiles to force his way before her; as the contest goes on the music quickens till the spectators too get excited.

Curious Beauty Aids.

One of the most noteworthy of the Mindanao tribes is the Bagobo, a handsome people whose beadwork possesses considerable artistic merit. They are fond of brass ornaments, which they make themselves, and wear enormous earrings of wood or ivory, if they can afford them, or, failing that, of coco-nut leaves. They usually file their teeth to a point, and blacken them. Below the knee they wear several strings of beads.

Also on Mindanao are the Tirurays, a small well-made folk, with yellow complexions and slanting eyes. The lips are

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GADDON YOUNG GIRL.

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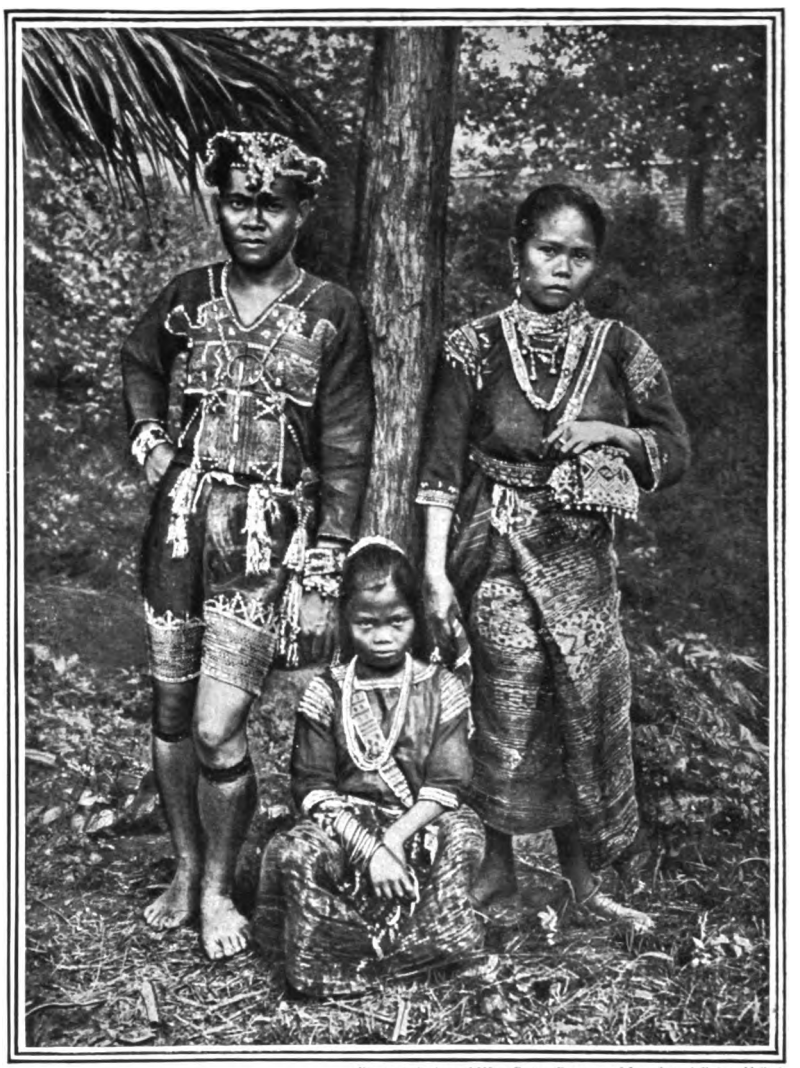
rather prominent, and women are given to adding to their charms by reddening them; their ears are pierced in seven holes which are kept open by the insertion of pieces of wire, and artificially elongated, greatly to their detriment. But their most extraordinary feature is the belt of brass wire, twelve or fifteen turns in length. In addition they have numerous tightly wound bracelets — brass coils with little bells at the end, large and heavy anklets of brass, and shell armlets on the left arm only. But perhaps the most typical female decoration is the neck ornament of strings of glass beads and shells, from which hangs a small case for *tarrau*. The women have a curious dance in which with a most doleful face they revolve the hand in a circle, keeping the fingers all the while quite straight.

The long island of Palawan contains more than one interesting tribe. The Batacs are a retiring folk who never even fight among themselves, and if the men carry weapons it is for sporting purposes only. The marriage ceremony is as brief as it can be; after the bride price has been paid the girl gives the man three mouthfuls of rice in the presence of the elders, and he does the same to her. They practise polyandry—that is, a woman has more than one husband; but one imagines that it must need an ardent love to submit to the inconveniences entailed, for the second husband becomes the slave of the first.



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BAGOBO MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD.

Secret Marriages Customary. Marriages are secretly arranged, and a curious custom demands that the intended spouse who accidentally hears of the prospective marriage must pretend to commit suicide. The wedding is short and simple, the youth tears from his bride's face the veil which conceals it, and runs away, imitating the call of the *uya-uya* bird. The mother of the bride chews some betel-nut and lime, her daughter continues the process, and finally the bridegroom receives it; then the pair touch each other on the head, and they are married.

Plurality of Husbands and Wives.

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The Tagbanouas on the other hand practise plurality of wives, but not of husbands. Where there is more than one wife in a menage, the senior has the whip hand, but each wife receives her husband's preference in turn, and the others may not interfere—a golden rule strictly obeyed, if European observers can be trusted. The marriage ceremony is curious—the first finger of the bridegroom is smeared with coco-nut oil, the palm of the hand being held downwards; after the same ceremony has been performed for the bride comes the wedding feast; and here the viands are wild hog, honey, roots, sugar-cane, etc., while as liquor they have a rice brew, which four persons drink simultaneously from the cup by means of straws.

On the island of Mindoro live the Manguianes. They have flat noses, almond-shaped eyes, straight black hair, and a dark chocolate complexion. Both sexes file their teeth to the gums for some reason unknown. The women are said to be gentle and affectionate, and are noted for their beautiful figures. They are fond of ornament, and often wear a row of Chinese brass bells round the waist hanging on the right hip; their anklets are of brass or red beads, and they have large shell bracelets and bead necklaces, but their most characteristic feature is the rattan belt buttoned behind, and the band of the same material over the shoulder blades, and under the breasts.

Strange Ornaments and Customs.

On the Sulu islands there is a custom which should make them the Paradise of believers in women's rights; for it is the practice to accept a woman's evidence in preference to a man's where there is any conflict of evidence, and it speaks well for the truthfulness of the women that the stronger sex has permitted this privilege to subsist to this day.

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NATIVE STUDENTS AT THE INSULAR NORMAL SCHOOL, MANILA.

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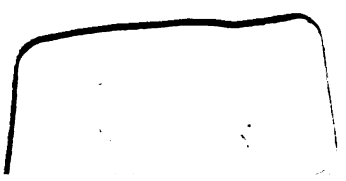

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